

BOWLES'S NEW AND ACCURATE MAP OF THE WORLD, OR TERRESTRIAL GLOBE, laid down from the BEST OBSERVATIONS and NEWEST DISCOVERIES; particularly those made in the SOUTH SEAS, by ANSON, BYRON, WALLIS, BOUAINVILLE, COOK, and other celebrated CIRCUMNAVIGATORS; Illustrated with a variety of useful PROJECTIONS and REPRESENTATIONS of the HEAVENLY BODIES: the most approved ASTRONOMICAL and GEOGRAPHICAL DEFINITIONS, TABLES and PROBLEMS: With an easy and familiar Explanation of the most curious and interesting PHENOMENA in the UNIVERSAL SYSTEM.



Compendium of Central Asian Military and Security Activity

MATTHEW STEIN

Open Source, Foreign Perspective, Underconsidered/Understudied Topics

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Executive Summary

Since Central Asian states gained independence in 1991, new regional military and security alliances have been created (some of which are Russian-led), new military partnerships with non-NATO countries have been established, a number of joint military exercises have been conducted, over a dozen high-profile incidents of violence and civil unrest have taken place, and military installations have been used by foreign militaries. While this activity gained attention, it has not been collectively compiled. A compilation of this activity can serve as a guide for current and future military and security involvement in Central Asia.

The first section of the compendium is organized alphabetically and includes entries on Central Asian military facilities and installations (bases, air fields, etc.), military and security organizations past and present, and joint exercises (Note: the exercises are organized alphabetically by the title of exercise and then chronologically if the exercise was part of a series or conducted annually; the names of some exercises are transliterated from Russian, ex. Tsentr, Grom, Poisk, etc. and these are also listed alphabetically with names of exercises in English). The second section is a list of Central Asian military and security structures and other (non-joint exercises) security cooperation activity organized by country. The third section is a list of major incidents of violence and civil unrest in Central Asia organized by country and then chronologically.

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Section One

Central Asian military facilities with foreign militaries – Past and Present

201st Motorized Rifle Division (Dushanbe and Qurghonteppa, Tajikistan)

Russia's 201st Motorized Rifle Division has been in Tajikistan since the end of the Soviet-Afghan War. Its headquarters is in Dushanbe and is subordinate to the Central Military District. Around 60 percent of the division is made up of contract soldiers, the remainder are conscripts. The division, with an estimated total strength of around 5,000 soldiers, is organized into three motorized rifle regiments: the 92nd and the 149th in Dushanbe, and the 191st in Qurghonteppa. The 92nd regiment also provides security at the Okno satellite tracking station near the Nurek dam. The division is supported by self propelled artillery and air defense regiments as well as Mi-24P attack helicopters, Mi-8MTV transport helicopters and Su-25 attack aircraft. While it is unknown how much the Russian government pays Tajikistan for hosting the 201st, Russia has provided security assistance (equipment and training) the Tajik Armed Forces. In 2012 the Russia reached an agreement with Tajikistan to use the facilities until 2042.¹

Ayni Airbase (Tajikistan)

Ayni (latitude: 38°30'44.43"N, longitude: 68°40'26.89"E) is an airbase located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) west of Dushanbe, Tajikistan. Originally a Soviet airbase, Ayni was not used or well maintained until 2002 when India and Tajikistan signed an agreement to renovate it. The cost of the renovation was an estimated \$70 million. The Indian Border Roads Organization constructed an air-traffic control tower, hangars, a perimeter fence, and extended the runway to accommodate any type of aircraft. Reportedly, the airbase would have had Indian MiG-29 fighters and Mi-17 helicopters stationed there, but the agreement between Indian and Tajikistan was only for renovation. There were an estimated 100-150 Indian military personnel at Ayni during the renovation, but they were most likely members of the Border Roads Organization, which includes soldiers from the Army and the General Reserve Engineer Force. The official opening of the renovation took place in September 2010. The governments of Russia and India negotiated with Tajikistan over use of Ayni for a number of years, but no agreement was signed. In 2008 Russia and Tajikistan signed an agreement that would have allowed Russian air units to jointly use Ayni with Tajik forces, but this was never fully implemented. In 2015, Russian Armed Forces began deploying air units at Ayni, apparently under the agreement of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division.²

Farkhor Airfield (Tajikistan)

Farkhor airfield (latitude: 37°28'15.65"N, longitude: 69°22'54.05"E) is located southwest of the town of Farkhor, Tajikistan, only a few kilometers north of the Tajik-Afghan border and Panj River. During the Afghan civil war in the 1990s, India established a small hospital at Farkhor for wounded members of the Northern Alliance. After Ahmad Shah Massoud was mortally wounded in an assassination in September 2001, he was flown to Farkhor for treatment but died en route.³

Ichkesu (Kyrgyzstan)

Ichkesu (Ichkesuu), a village in the Tup District, Issyk Kul Province, is the site of the Automated Seismic Station #1, under the command of the Russian Defense Ministry. Its purpose is to monitor earthquakes and the testing and use of nuclear weapons around the world. It has been in Russian service since 1994.⁴

Kant Airbase (Kyrgyzstan)

Kant is a Russian airbase (the 999th airbase), located 20km, 12 miles east of Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (latitude: 42°51'19.22"N, longitude: 74°50'48.62"E). Around 400 soldiers from the Russian 5th Air Army, 4th Air Force and Air Defense Troops Command at Rostov-na-Donu, are stationed at Kant. However, after the Russian military restructured into regionally based commands, it is unknown to which command the 999th airbase is subordinate. In 2010, Russia established a unified command of its military facilities in Kyrgyzstan, including at Kant, Koisary, Ichke Suu, Kara Balta, and Mayluusuu. Kant is home to Su-27s, Su-25s, an Il-8, Il-76s, L-39 trainers and Mi-8s. Russia has been using Kant since 2003 and as of 2010, pays Kyrgyzstan \$4.5 million annually for renting the facility.⁵

Kara Balta (Kyrgyzstan)

Near the city of Kara Balta, located 62 km (38.5 miles) west of Bishkek, is the site of the 338th Communication Hub of the Russian Navy. It conducts long range radio contact with ships and submarines (reportedly, those operating in the Indian and Pacific Oceans). It has been in Russian service since Russian and Kyrgyzstan signed an agreement on it in 1993.⁶

Karshi-Khanabad (Uzbekistan)

Karshi-Khanabad (aka K-2) is an airbase (latitude: 38°50'1.87"N, longitude: 65°55'18.91"E) near the city of Karshi, Uzbekistan. It was used by U.S. forces from October 2001 to November 2005. The base was used for search and rescue operations and deliveries of humanitarian aid in support of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Around 1,500 soldiers were stationed at K-2. In July 2005, the government of Uzbekistan gave the U.S. notice to withdraw all units from K-2 within six months. The last units departed K-2 in November, 2005.⁷

Koisary Naval Base (Kyrgyzstan)

Koisary, the 954th Test Base for Anti-Submarine Weapons, is a Russian naval base located on the eastern shore of Lake Issyk Kul, northwest of the city of Karakol. In operation since the 1950s and under the command of the Russian Navy since 1993, the base conducts torpedo testing in Lake Issyk Kul. This is also the site of a joint Russian-Kyrgyz project (95% Russian-5% Kyrgyzstan controlled) *Ozero*, which develops and tests new torpedoes.⁸

Mailuu Suu (Kyrgyzstan)

Mailuu Suu, a town in the Jalal-Abad Province around 100 km (60 miles) northwest of the city of Jalal-Abad, is the site of Automated Seismic Station #17, under the command of the Russian Defense Ministry. Like the facility at Ichkesu, its purpose is to monitor earthquakes and nuclear weapons testing. It is under the same agreement at Station #1.⁹

Okno (Tajikistan)

Okno (latitude: 38°16'47.78"N, longitude: 69°13'31.12"E) is an optical electronic facility located near the Nurek Dam in Tajikistan. Okno is under the command of the 45th Division of Space Monitoring, Russian Space Forces; a command subordinate to the Russian Defense Minister. Construction on Okno started in 1979, stopped because of the Tajik Civil War in 1992, and resumed in 1997. It became operational in 1999. Okno's tasks are to monitor, track, and collect information on objects orbiting the earth at altitudes of 2,000 to 40,000 km (1,300-25,000 miles). The facility sits at 2,200 meters (7,200 feet) above sea level where weather conditions are usually clear; it is only able to operate at night. Russia pays Tajikistan a symbolic rent of \$0.30 annually based on a 1994 agreement; in return Russia forgave Tajikistan's \$242 million debt. The agreement also leased the facility to Russia for 49 years.¹⁰

Termez Airport (Uzbekistan)

Termez Airport, located north of the city of Termez (latitude: 37°17'12.81"N, longitude: 67°18'36.34"E), hosted a German Air Force contingent from February 2002 to December 2015. The German Air Force, part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), had around 300 soldiers stationed at the airport with several transport planes and helicopters (C-160s and CH-53s) and served as a hub for German soldiers transiting to bases in Afghanistan.¹¹

Transit Center at Manas (Kyrgyzstan)

The Transit Center at Manas, (formerly Manas Air Base and at one time Ganci Air Base) was a logistics and transit hub outside Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (latitude: 43.050278, longitude: 74.469444) in support of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operations in Afghanistan. It shared space and facilities with the Manas International Airport, which is located about 30km (18 miles) north of Bishkek. The transit center operated from December 2001 to June 2014.¹²

Vozrozhdeniya Island (Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan)

Vozrozhdeniya Island (also called Revival or Rebirth Island; the facility was officially known as Aralsk-7 or Kontubek) was the site of a Soviet biological weapons laboratory and testing site from 1954 until 1992 (reportedly it was also used from the 1930s until 1954). In 1992 Russia turned it over to the joint control of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. During Soviet ownership, they conducted tests on animals using anthrax, various forms of plague, tularemia, and possibly smallpox. Due to the shrinking of the Aral Sea, Vozrozhdeniya turned into a peninsula around 2001 and then completely became a part of the local mainland around 2008. After the island became accessible by land, people from the area scrapped and stripped the facilities of metal and other materials. In October 2001, the United States and Uzbekistan signed an agreement under the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program to decontaminate testing sites and dismantle the facilities. Some decontamination took place during the years of testing and when Russia turned over the facility. In February 2002, Russia reportedly signed an agreement with Kazakhstan to assist in the decontamination effort, but no further information is available on this cooperation. While the United States-Uzbekistan decontamination was reported as successful, local media claimed there are no published results of the program.¹³

Military and security organizations and programs

Border Management Programme in Central Asia (BOMCA)

BOMCA is a European Union (EU) funded program that started operations in 2003 with specific projects in each of the five Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The BOMCA program has been carried out in nine phases, originally a part of the Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS), and was managed and partially funded by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for phases one through eight (2003-2014 with the headquarters in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan and offices in the other four member states) with the ninth (and reportedly final) phase running from December 2014 through the end of 2017, though not under the management of the UNDP. Throughout all nine phases BOMCA has focused on improving security and infrastructure on selected border crossing points and trader corridors as well improvement of training and training facilities, all of which has been based on the European model of Integrated Border Management (IBM). Additionally, the Central Asia Border Security Initiative (CABSI), founded by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior and supported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), held annual conferences to coordinate and discuss program activities and strategic objectives. Past CABSI conferences were attended by representatives from the U.S., Russia, and Afghanistan. BOMCA has been one part of the EU's effort against drug trafficking in Central Asia with the other being the Central Asia Drug Action Programme (CADAP) which has been focused on combating drug addiction in the region since 2001, though CADAP reportedly became inactive during the transition from phase five to six in 2013. It started again in 2015 under the management of the Trimbos Institute. Also, the EU funded and UNDP managed Border Management Northern Afghanistan (BOMNAF, formerly BOMBAF – Border Management Badakhshan Afghanistan from 2007-2010) has coordinated projects on the Uzbek-Afghan and Tajik-Afghan borders.¹⁴

Central Asian Battalion (CENTRASBAT)

CENTRASBAT was formed in 1995 by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan as a peacekeeping battalion. They requested NATO involvement, but the U.S. became the main supporter. CENTRASBAT conducted military exercises in Central Asia with the U.S. in 1997 and 1998, and conducted a seminar in the U.S. in 1999. CENTRASBAT '97 included a parachute drop by all three national members of the battalion and members of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division. The units took off from Fort Bragg, North Carolina in eight C-17s and flew 16 hours to Kazakhstan. The exercise opened with a parachute jump into southern Kazakhstan followed by an exercise that included checkpoint control, vehicle inspections, riot control, mine field clearing and humanitarian aid operations.¹⁵ The latter half of the exercise took place in Uzbekistan. CENTRASBAT disbanded in 2000, although the battalion's name was used for one exercise in that year. The exercises were renamed Regional Cooperation and continued for several years.¹⁶

Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC)

CARICC formed in 2009 with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan as member states. CARICC's headquarters are in Almaty, Kazakhstan and its main objectives include coordinating efforts of member states in combating drug trafficking, facilitating cooperation among agencies of member states that combat crime associated with drug trafficking, assisting in organizing and executing joint international operations and investigations against drug trafficking, and the collection, storage, protection, analysis and exchange of information on cross-border crime associated with drug trafficking. Interagency coordination of member states takes place among national security services, interior ministries, customs services, border forces, and others. There are observers accredited to CARICC from Austria, Afghanistan, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Pakistan, U.S., and Interpol. CARICC has partnerships with several regional and international security organizations including the UNODC Regional Office for Central Asia, Interpol, Europol, the World Customs Organization, the Antiterrorist Center of the CIS, and the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) Regional Center for Combating Trans-border Crime. CARICC is largely financed by the UNODC and receives donations from observers and other countries.¹⁷

Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)

The CSTO, Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (ОДКБ), is an intergovernmental military organization that formed following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Several former Soviet republics created and signed the Collective Security Treaty (CST) in 1992. The initial agreement was set to last for five years and in 1999 all members except Uzbekistan renewed. This treaty later turned into the CSTO in 2002. Uzbekistan rejoined the organization in June 2006 after leaving GUAM in 2005 and then suspended its membership in 2012.¹⁸ Current members of the CSTO are Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan.¹⁹ The CSTO reportedly allows member states to purchase weapons and equipment from the Russian defense industry at the same prices the Russian military pays; however, it has never been verified if service or spare parts is include with sales.²⁰ The charter of the CSTO (from 2002) is made up of 10 chapters that state the organization's purposes and principles and areas of activity.²¹ Since 2002 there have been additional amendments to the charter, including a 2007 amendment to conduct peacekeeping missions under a UN Security Council resolution, a 2010 amendment to allow the organizationa to respond to an internal threat to security of a member state (the prior treaty only allowed a response to an external threat of a member), and a 2011 amendment that would require all members to agree before any member hosts a foreign military in its territory. In 2012 CSTO signed a memorandum of understanding with the UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations. The memo allows the organization to to carry out a peacekeeping mission under a UN mandate.²²

CSTO Collective Forces

The CSTO has had some form of a collective force since 2001. At the CSTO (then CST) summit in Yerevan, Armenia in May 2001, members created the Collective Rapid Deployment Force for the Central Asian Region (CRDF CAR), sometimes referred to as Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF). This force included Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan each contributing either a battalion and/or a special forces unit with the goal of averting external aggression and terrorism. Additionally, Russia contributes a variety of fighter and transport

aircraft and helicopters that are deployed to the Kant Airbase outside Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (see also Kant).²³

At a CSTO summit in 2008 and in February 2009, members discussed the need for a new collective force. In June 2009 they created the Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF), (Russian) Коллективные силы оперативного реагирования (КСОР). All CSTO members contribute to the force and it can be deployed to deal with threats from conventional militaries and non-state armed groups, as well as emergency or disaster situations and peacekeeping. CORF (КСОР) is made up of units from Russia (the 98th Guards Airborne Division, the 31st Guards Air Assault Brigade, special police units 'Bison' and 'Lynx', and a unit 'Leader,' from the Ministry of Emergency Situations); Belarus (the 103rd Guards special operations force and an Interior Ministry special forces unit); Kazakhstan (the 37th Air Assault Brigade); Kyrgyzstan (a battalion and a special unit from the Interior Ministry); Tajikistan (a battalion), and Armenia (a battalion) under Russian command. All units are home-based except for annual joint exercises with the exception of the Russian air units based at Kant.²⁴

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

The CIS, formed in 1991, is an association and successor organization to the Soviet Union. It members include Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Ukraine is a participant but not an official member. In 2005, Turkmenistan withdrew from the CIS and became an associate member and does not participate in the majority of councils or other activity in the organization. The CIS includes several military and security structures and councils of cooperation between member states (note: the Collective Security Treaty Organization grew out of the framework of the CIS, but is now a separate organization): the Council of Defense Ministers, the Air Defense Coordination Committee (for the CIS Air Defense system), the Council of Interior Ministers, the Council of the Heads of Security Agencies and Special Services, the Office of Coordination of Combating Organized Crime (BKBOP), the CIS Antiterrorism Center, and the Council of Commanders of Border Troops.²⁵

Commonwealth of Independent States Peacekeeping Force (CIS/PKF)

The CIS/PKF was a regional peacekeeping force made up of units from Russia (the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, which had been stationed in Tajikistan prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and Russian Border Guards, which deployed along the Tajik-Afghan border and had likewise been in place prior to the civil war), and battalions from Kazakhstan (consisting of elements from the 35th Air Assault Brigade, Interior Ministry, and the Border Guards), Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan deployed to Tajikistan during the Tajik Civil War, 1992-97. The CIS/PKF numbered around 25,000 total soldiers, reaching a high of 28,000 in April 1997. The 201st, the Russian Border Forces, and an Uzbek force became involved in Tajikistan in 1992 when the war started. They did not become a formalized CIS peacekeeping force until September 1993. Despite CIS attempts to obtain a UN mandate, the CIS/PKF was not a UN backed peacekeeping force, but the CIS/PKF maintained contact with UNMOT. Each of the battalions from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan deployed to a sector on the Tajik-Afghan border; Kazakh forces operated in a sector near Qal'ai Khumb, Uzbek forces operated near Shahrtuz, and Kyrgyz forces operated near Khorog. The CIS/PKF's numbers were reduced following the 1997

peace agreement and the mandate ended in 2000. The Russian Border Forces remained in Tajikistan until 2005, when Tajikistan's Border Guards took over.²⁶

The Council of Commanders of Border Troops

The CIS heads-of-state created the Council of Commanders of Border Troops (Совета командующих Пограничными войсками or СКПВ), also referred to as the CIS Border Guards, in 1991 in order to protect each CIS state's borders during the transition to independence. Current members are Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. The CIS Borders Guards' goals are to coordinate efforts and develop relations of the border troops in each member country in the field of external borders and economic zones as well as to ensure a stable overall situation. The CIS Border Guards members also cooperate on military-technical policy and training. The organization is headed by a chairman (historically a General of the Russian Federal Border Service) with each member state holding the position of vice-chairmen (represented by officers from the border or security services of each member state). The CIS Border Guards also coordinates with the CIS Anti-terror Center and the CIS Executive Committee.²⁷

GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development

GUAM, formerly GUUAM, is a regional organization established in 2001 consisting of Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova as members. Uzbekistan was a member but withdrew in 2005.²⁸

Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT)

Kazakhstan's peacekeeping battalion (KAZBAT) grew out of the peacekeeping company that Kazakhstan contributed to the former Central Asian Peacekeeping Battalion (CENTRASBAT). The government of Kazakhstan formed the unit in January 2000 from the company sized element that existed in CENTRASBAT. KAZBAT has been expanding and developing since its inception through the country's NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) and involvement with the Global Peace Operations Initiative, a U.S. security assistance program. The unit's main efforts to develop come from its annual "Steppe Eagle" peacekeeping exercises, the first of which took place in 2003. As part of Kazakhstan's IPAP with NATO, KAZBAT is being assessed according to NATO's Operational Capabilities Concept (OCC). NATO established the OCC in April 1999 in order to build up the capabilities and interoperability of Partnership for Peace members' armed forces to participate in NATO peacekeeping operations. NATO has been assessing KAZBAT according to two evaluation levels, with level one measuring interoperability status with NATO forces and level two measuring capabilities to be added to NATO's Pool of Forces, the latter of which would make the unit available for a peacekeeping mission. KAZBAT reportedly achieved evaluation level one during the 2017 iteration of Steppe Eagle.²⁹

Members of KAZBAT deployed to Iraq from 2003-2008. The deployment consisted of 27 soldiers serving for six month periods with a total of 10 rotations, with a total of 200 soldiers deploying, and worked on water purification and demining projects under the command of a division from Poland. The unit sustained one casualty in January 2005. In 2008 the government of Kazakhstan considered a deployment of four soldiers from the unit to the International

Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan; however, in June 2011 the deployment was delayed indefinitely after the Kazakh Senate (the upper section of Kazakhstan's parliament) did not ratify an agreement to allow the deployment. Also, members of the unit have deployed as experts on mission to the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) and the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). KAZBAT has been in the process of expanding into a peacekeeping brigade (KAZBRIG), but it is unknown when this transition will be complete.³⁰

National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP)

The U.S. Army National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP) was established in 1991, out of a EUCOM Joint Contact program that matched U.S. reservists with the militaries of the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). The program grew into the SPP with the National Guard Bureau. All Central Asian countries are matched with the National Guard of a U.S. state; Kazakhstan – Arizona, Kyrgyzstan – Montana, Tajikistan – Virginia, Turkmenistan – Nevada (ended), and Uzbekistan – Mississippi. The cooperation is military focused but often includes assistance from various state agencies.³¹

Kazakhstan – Arizona

The Kazakhstan – Arizona partnership started in 1993; cooperation has included a project on a Non-Commissioned Officers program in Kazakhstan, joint training (including Steppe Eagle, aviation operations and maintenance, military police procedures, and HMMWV maintenance), and Arizona's Department of Emergency and Military Affairs together with Kazakhstan's Ministry of Emergency Situations, a program on disaster preparedness and firefighting techniques.³²

Kyrgyzstan – Montana

The Kyrgyzstan – Montana partnership started in 1996; cooperation has included a visit by then President Askar Akayev to Montana in 2003, training exercises (military, medical, search and rescue, and emergency response), and work with Kyrgyzstan's Drug Control Agency. The Alaska and Nebraska National Guard have also been involved with some of these efforts.³³

Tajikistan – Virginia

The Tajikistan – Virginia partnership started in 2003; cooperation has included exchanges on disaster response, staff officer information, military medicine, peacekeeping operations, and junior leader development.³⁴

Turkmenistan – Nevada

The Turkmenistan – Nevada partnership started in 1996, although activities did not start until 2002; cooperation included fire response, border control and construction on border crossing facilities, and search and rescue. The partnership ended sometime in 2009-2010 and Turkmenistan is not partnered with any state as of August 2016.³⁵

Uzbekistan – Mississippi (formerly Louisiana)

The Uzbekistan – Louisiana partnership started in 1996. In 2003, Louisiana hosted the International Workshop for Emergency Response (IWER), an event also attended by observers

from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.³⁶ Uzbekistan is now partnered with the Mississippi National Guard.³⁷

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program

NATO PfP started in 1994 as a program of bilateral cooperation between NATO and non-member countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) provides the political framework for cooperation between NATO and PfP members; it started in 1992 as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) until 1997 when it changed to EAPC. PfP members set up cooperation with NATO through an Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program (IPCP), formerly known as the Individual Partnership Program (IPP). The IPCP is a two year program that consists of activities which NATO and PfP members agree upon based the latter's interest and needs. There are a number of activities that the two sides can conduct, but most focus on interoperability with NATO forces and building member capacity in addition to support for defense and security sector reform. The focus on interoperability and capacity building came out of the September 2014 NATO summit, though both initiatives were in place for PfP members before 2014. There are several activities (also known as tools in NATO cooperation) that develop interoperability and build member capacity, including:

- the Planning and Review Process (PARP), which works to develop forces for NATO training, exercises, and operations as well as defense reform and modernization
- the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP), which offers a closer partnership with NATO than the PARP and includes political aspects in addition to the ability of individual NATO members to provide bilateral assistance
- the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism (PAP-T), which focuses on intelligence sharing, training and exercises against terrorism, and responding to a terrorist attack
- the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), which works to coordinate disaster relief efforts
- the Science for Peace and Security (SPS) program, which provides funding and support for science and technology projects related to security
- the Defense Education and Enhancement Program (DEEP), which focuses on developing and reforming military and security educational institutions.³⁸

Additionally, a NATO Liaison Office operated in Central Asia for several years and it worked with the five states on their PfP activities. It closed in March 2017 and moved its operations to NATO headquarters in Brussels. The Liaison Office had been located in Astana and Tashkent.³⁹

NATO and Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan joined the PfP program in 1994 and started participation in the PARP in 2002. The Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT), transitioning to a bridge (KAZBRIG), is being developed through the framework of the PARP. The Kazakhstan PfP training center KAZCENT, which offers peacekeeping relates courses, received accreditation from NATO in 2010 and was supported by the Global Peace Operations Initiative. Kazakhstan is also the only Central Asian PfP member to have an IPAP, which began in 2006 and has continued to the present every two years. Kazakhstan is also involved with PAP-T, EADRCC, SPS, in addition to hosting a number of the Steppe Eagle exercises and allowing shipments of non-lethal cargo to forces in Afghanistan.⁴⁰

NATO and Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan joined PfP in 1994 and the PARP in 2007, as well as participation with EADRCC and the SPS program. Kyrgyzstan has selected an infantry company, a National Guard platoon, and a border guards company to be involved with PfP exercises and potential peacekeeping operations.⁴¹

NATO and Tajikistan

Tajikistan joined PfP in 2002, has been involved with the SPS program, and has been considering joining the PARP as of 2014. Tajikistan has selected an infantry platoon and a group of staff officers and military medics to be involved with PfP exercises.⁴²

NATO and Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan joined PfP in 1994, has been involved with the SPS program and while it has an IPCP, it does not participate in any other activities because of its neutrality status (Turkmenistan has a status of permanent neutrality officially recognized by the UN) and does not offer any forces for PfP exercises.⁴³

NATO and Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan joined PfP in 1994 and the PARP in 2002, though the latter suspended operations from 2005-2010 following the incident in Andijan. Uzbekistan is also involved with DEEP, the SPS program, and allowed shipments of non-lethal cargo to forces in Afghanistan starting in 2010.⁴⁴

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

The OSCE is a security organization that grew out of the Helsinki Accords in 1975; a declaration to improve relations between the communist bloc and the west. It officially became the OSCE in 1995. The OSCE views security as having three dimensions: politico-military, economic and environmental, and human.⁴⁵ Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are all OSCE members. Afghanistan is an OSCE Partner for Cooperation. Each of the five post-Soviet countries has an OSCE Field Operation working on politico-military projects.

OSCE Centre in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan

The OSCE established a Centre in Turkmenistan in 1998 with an open-ended mandate. The Centre's politico-military activities include: promoting OSCE Confidence-and Security-Building Measures, combating terrorism and organized crime, combating trafficking in small arms and light weapons, drugs, human beings and chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear substances, and strengthening border security. Since 2006 the Centre has been training border security officials on detecting contraband through x-rays and physical searches. The Centre also worked with Turkmenistan's State Border and Customs Services, and the Ministries of Interior and National Security on modern techniques for finding drugs in railroad cars, trucks, and ships.⁴⁶

OSCE Centre in Astana (formerly in Almaty)

The OSCE established a Centre in Almaty in 1998 and moved it to Astana in 2007. The mandate was open-ended until 2001, when it changed to an annual renewal. The Centre's politico-military activities include: international terrorism, border security, control of small arms and light weapons, and police activities. The Astana Centre works with other Central Asian OSCE Centres on these issues. These activities are done with support of two other OSCE programs, the Action against Terrorism Unit (ATU) and the Strategic Police Matters Unit (SPMU). Created in 2001 the ATU works with all OSCE members on their individual anti-terror activities. It also works with a variety of organizations, including the CIS, the CIS Anti-Terror Center, the CSTO, and the SCO.⁴⁷ OSCE member states created the SPMU in 2001 in order to strengthen police-related activities and protect against organized crime, arms, drugs and other forms of trafficking. Police advisors from the SPMU work in OSCE regional or field operations.⁴⁸

OSCE Centre in Bishkek

The OSCE established a Centre in Bishkek in 1998 with an open-ended mandate until 2003, when it changed to an annual renewal. The Centre is involved with policing and several politico-military activities. The policing program includes police order management, emergency call centers, working with the (Bishkek) Police Academy, human resource management, professional development in forensics and criminal investigations and community policing. The politico-military activities include border security (building capacity against trans-border crimes and threats among Kyrgyzstan's border agencies, there is also work done on conflict prevention at the OSCE field office in Osh), and anti-terrorism (building capacity for cooperation among Kyrgyzstan's agencies tasked with anti-terror activities).⁴⁹

OSCE Office in Tajikistan

The OSCE opened a Mission to Tajikistan in 1994, changed it to a Centre in 2002, and finally into an Office in 2008. The mandate is open-ended and renewed annually. The Office's headquarters is located in Dushanbe and there are field offices in the cities of Khujand, Kurgan-Tyube, Garm, Kulyab and Shaartuz. The Office is involved with counter-terrorism and police assistance, border management, and weapons disposal activities.⁵⁰ Counter-terrorism and police assistance include working with all law enforcement agencies to combat organized crime, drug trafficking and terrorism, focusing on police training, structural and operational reforms, and the introduction of community policing. Border Management includes three projects as solutions to developing Tajikistan's border management following the withdrawal of the Russian Border Guards in 2005. The first project is developing a national border strategy and a related implementation plan. The second and third projects are providing training and equipment (training to detect and prevent illegal movement across the Tajik/Afghan border and equipment to help the Tajik customs service and a group of Afghan customs officials detect chemicals illegally entering Tajikistan). Additionally, the OSCE established a Border Management Staff College (BMSC) in Dushanbe in 2009. The purpose of the BMSC is to enhance the knowledge of present and future senior managers of border security and management agencies of OSCE members and Partners for Cooperation. This is done through the framework of the OSCE Border Security and Management Concept.⁵¹ The BMSC conducts staff courses several times a year; each course is around 5 weeks in duration and will have 25 places open for senior border managers (15 places are for Central Asian OSCE members, 5 for Afghans, and 5 for other OSCE members).⁵²

OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan

The OSCE opened a Liaison Office in Central Asia (in Tashkent) in 1995. It changed into an OSCE Centre in 2000, and then became the Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan in 2006. Its mandate is renewed annually. The Project Co-ordinator's headquarters is located in Tashkent and has been involved in working with Uzbekistan on combating terrorism, violent extremism, and drug trafficking. A series of projects ran from 2008-09 that included seminars and workshops on combating terrorism and drug trafficking, and assisting Uzbekistan's Police Academy under the Ministry of Internal Affairs largely through improving training.⁵³

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

The SCO, originally called the "Shanghai Five", is a security organization formed in 1996 with China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan as original members. Uzbekistan joined in 2001 and the organization renamed itself the SCO. In June 2017 India and Pakistan became members, while Afghanistan, Belarus, Iran and Mongolia are observer states in the organization. There are also six dialogue partners in the SCO: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Cambodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Turkey. Turkmenistan has attended SCO meetings as a guest. The SCO focuses on military-security issues between member states, and in more recent years the focus widened to include economic and trade cooperation. One of the permanent bodies of the SCO, besides the Secretariat position, is the Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS). The RATS was established in 2004 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan and is tasked with several duties, based on three areas the SCO views as threats: terrorism, separatism, and extremism. The main duties are working with institutions of member states and international organizations against the three threats; assist member states with staging counter-terrorism exercises and conducting search operations against the three threats; joint drafting of legal documents against the threats; gathering and analyzing information from member states on threats, which is later stored in a database in RATS; jointly responding to global challenges and threats; and holding conferences and workshops on fighting the three threats.⁵⁴

Six plus Two/Six plus Three

In 1997, the President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov proposed the Six plus Two group to the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy on Afghanistan Lakhdar Brahimi. It became officially known as the Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan, signed in Tashkent, Uzbekistan in 1999. Six plus Two included all the countries bordering Afghanistan (China, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) plus the two other countries with an interest in security in Afghanistan (the U.S. and Russia). The UN Security Council backed the declaration, particularly its goals of not providing weapons or military support to any group in Afghanistan. The goal of Six plus Two was to create a dialogue between members of the declaration and all factions in Afghanistan, ultimately so that the conflict would be resolved through negotiation and not military means.⁵⁵ A few meetings were held (that included all members) to discuss ending conflict and eliminate drug trafficking and production out of Afghanistan.⁵⁶ Six plus Two effectively stopped activities following the September 11 attacks in the U.S.

The group reemerged in 2008 as Six plus Three, to include of all the previous members with the addition of NATO. Karimov revitalized the idea during the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest.⁵⁷ However, since then the group has remained as a proposal but has not held any meetings. Russia did not support Six plus Three in 2008; they believed NATO involvement gave the U.S. too much influence and that Afghanistan should be included in the group as a full partner, not as a participant of the dialogue. Russia instead backed the SCO Afghanistan Contact Group (which took shape during Russia's presidency of the SCO in 2008-09).⁵⁸ Russia's position changed somewhat in late 2009; Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov stressed diplomatic solutions to Afghanistan's problems.⁵⁹ Pakistan's Prime Minister Gilani expressed support for the proposal in a visit to Uzbekistan in March 2011.⁶⁰

United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)

UNMOT was a UN peacekeeping operation in Tajikistan from December 1994 through May 2000. UNMOT grew out of a UN mission of 15 military observers already in Tajikistan. They arrived in October 1994. The team was observing the September 1994 Tehran (cease-fire) agreement between the Tajik government and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). The UN Security Council established UNMOT in December 1994 under UN Security Resolution 968. The main points of UNMOT's mandate were to assist the Joint Commission (made up of government and UTO members); to monitor the implementation of the Tehran agreement; to investigate reports of cease-fire violations; to provide mediation; and to maintain contacts with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the predecessor of the OSCE), with the CIS peacekeeping force in Tajikistan (which included units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Uzbekistan), and with the Russian Border Forces. UNMOT personnel were a collection of military observers, international civilian staff, and local staff. The number of military observers started at 40, rose to 120 in September 1997, and ended at 17 in May 2000. This did not include civilian or local staff. UNMOT continued work even when violence broke out again in 1996. A ceasefire in December 1996 led to the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord signed in June 1997. As a result of the agreement, UNMOT expanded in 1997 to include more civil affairs personnel and military observers. The 1997 agreement created a transition period during which refugees returned, UTO fighters demobilized or integrated into the government (although this did not take place to the extent it was expected), the military and security forces reformed, and improvement of the democratic process that would lead to new parliamentary elections. The first parliamentary elections took place in early 2000. The transition period was successful, outside of some violence in 1998, and UNMOT's mandate expired in May 2000 and the peacekeeping operation ended.⁶¹

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

The UNODC is a UN agency headquartered in Vienna, Austria with the the Regional Office for Central Asia (ROCA) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan and program offices in all Central Asian countries. The UNODC's main goals are to assist member states with combating drugs, crime and terrorism and it carries out these goals through field-based projects, research and analysis of the three issues, and working with member state governments on legislation. Based on these goals, the UNODC's activities in Central Asia include work with the Central Asia Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC), work on precursor chemical control, a border liaison office project, working with national drug control agencies and intelligence led policing.

In addition to these activities, all five Central Asian states are partners in the UNODC led Paris Pact Initiative (PPI), a framework created in 2003 by 55 countries to coordinate actions on combating drug trafficking from Afghanistan, including improving security on Central Asia's borders with Afghanistan.⁶²

United Nations Regional Centre for Preventative Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA)

The UNRCCA, headquartered in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, was established in December 2007 at the request of member states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. It is a special political mission of the UN. The opening of the UNRCCA took place not long after the closure of the United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peace Building. The functions of the UNRCCA are: to work with regional governments on preventative diplomacy; to provide the UN and Secretary General with up-to-date information on conflict prevention efforts; to maintain contact, coordinate, and exchange information with the OSCE, the CIS, the SCO, and other regional organizations; to provide framework and leadership for preventative efforts of UN country teams; and to maintain close contact with the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.⁶³ Ashgabat was the site of previous multi-party negotiations. The government of Turkmenistan hosted a later round of the Inter-Tajik Negotiation, from November 1995 through July 1996, and the International Forum on Assistance to Afghanistan in January 1997.⁶⁴

United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peacebuilding (UNTOP)

UNTOP was a UN peacebuilding office in Tajikistan from June 2000 to August 2007 that provide support following the end of UNMOT. UNTOP's annually renewable mandate was to provide the political framework and leadership for post-conflict peace-building activities; to mobilize international support for the implementation of programs (rule of law, demobilization, voluntary arms collection and employment creation for former irregular fighters); to help create an environment for consolidating peace; and to liaise with the government, political parties, and other society members to broaden national consensus and reconciliation. UNTOP's staff were made up of international civilian and local support staff.⁶⁵

Joint exercises with Central Asian military and security forces

Ala-Too Antiterror 2013

Ala-Too Antiterror 2013 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Ukraine exercise that took place in two phases, the first from September 4-13, 2013 and the second on September 26, 2013 in Kyrgyzstan. The first phase of the exercise included personnel from the security services of participants, while the second phase included a special forces unit from the Russian Ministry of Defense, units from Kyrgyzstan's Ministry of Defense and National Security Committee as well the country's Ministry of Emergency Situations. The first phase focused on intelligence sharing and cooperation among agencies of member countries with an emphasis on possible scenarios related to the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan in 2014. The second and active phase involved units from Russia and Kyrgyzstan and focused on scenarios of hostage

rescue at a school (which included an insertion by Mi-8 transport helicopter and the use of a BRDM armored vehicle) and in an airplane, followed by decontamination of radioactive materials (by the Kyrgyz Ministry of Emergency Situations), and then an assault (by Kyrgyz Defense forces with the use of BMP infantry fighting vehicles and an armed variant of a Mi-8 helicopter) against an armed group in the mountains; all portions of the second phase took place near Bishkek and the Kant Airbase. Also in attendance at the exercise were all members of the CIS ATC (except for Uzbekistan) and the Secretary General of INTERPOL.⁶⁶

Aldaspan 2008

Aldaspan (Алдаспан, Sword) 2008 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September-October 2008 near Almaty. The exercise included an airborne and aviation units from Kazakhstan's Southern Command, and a special forces command element and aviation units (including Su-27 fighter aircraft and Tu-160 bombers) from Russia. The exercise focused on joint operational readiness between the two countries.⁶⁷

Aldaspan 2012

Aldaspan (Алдаспан, Sword) 2012 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place July 7-12, 2012 at the Koktal range, Kazakhstan. The exercise included airmobile forces and aviation units from Kazakhstan's Southern Command, and Russian units from the Central Military District and aviation units from the Russian airbase at Kant (Kyrgyzstan), and focused on a scenario of surrounding, cutting off escape points and destroying a group of militants in a mountain village.⁶⁸

Anyrakai 2018

Anyrakai-2018 (Аныракай-2018) was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place August 23-29, 2018 at the Otar base, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved around 300 personnel (from Kazakh and Kyrgyz special purpose units) and focused on a joint special operation (including night ambushes and raids, and the use of unmanned aerial vehicles and artillery).⁶⁹

Azov Antiterror 2003

Azov Antiterror 2003 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia-Ukraine exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place June 9-11, 2003 in two phases in the ports, Krym (Ukraine) and Kavkaz (Russia). The first phase involved operational planning and the second, active phase involved antiterrorist units from the security, emergency, and interior ministries of participants, including Kazakhstan's National Security Service (KNB) 'Arystan' unit, in a maritime hostage rescue scenario.⁷⁰

Balance exercise series

'Balance' was a series of bilateral exercises conducted through the U.S. Joint Combined Training Exercises (JCET) program in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan.⁷¹

- *Balance Bars*

Balance Bars was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan exercise conducted from July 22-August 22, 2002 at the Kapchagay range, north of Almaty. The exercise focused on reconnaissance and small unit tactics in desert and mountainous environments.⁷²

- *Balance Kayak*
Balance Kayak was a set of joint U.S.-Kazakhstan exercises conducted in August 1996, June 1997, August 1998, and the spring of 1999. The exercises focused on combat medical training.⁷³
- *Balance Knife*
Balance Knife was a joint U.S.-Kyrgyzstan exercise conducted in March 2003 and focused on mountain combat and combat medicine.⁷⁴
- *Balance Knight*
Balance Knight was a joint U.S.-Kyrgyzstan exercise conducted in January and February 2003 and included soldiers from the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry, the “Scorpion” battalion. The exercise focused on mountaineering, rapid response, helicopter maneuvers, and first aid skills.⁷⁵
- *Balance Ultra*
Balance Ultra was a set of joint U.S.-Uzbekistan exercises conducted in the Fergana Valley, Uzbekistan in autumn 1996, June 1997, September 1998, and June 1999. The exercises focused on combat medical and mountain training.⁷⁶
- *Balance Umbra*
Balance Umbra was a joint U.S.-Uzbekistan exercise that took place in April 2000 near Chirchik, Uzbekistan. It involved U.S. and Uzbek special forces and focused on counterinsurgency operations in mountain areas.⁷⁷
- *Balance Umpire*
Balance Umpire was a joint U.S.-Uzbekistan exercise that took place in June 2001 and focused on desert operations, including patrols, medical and first aid treatment, helicopter insertions, ambush techniques, and logistical planning for desert conditions.⁷⁸

Baykonur Antiterror 2007

Baykonur Antiterror 2007 was a joint Belarus-Kazakhstan-Russia exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place September 25-28, 2007 at the Baykonur Cosmodrome in southern Kazakhstan. Planning sessions were held from September 6-25 in participating states to identify facilities that could be targeted by terrorist groups and ways to better secure them. The exercise included antiterrorist units from security agencies of participants in a scenario of hostage rescue at a rocket fuel storage facility in Baykonur. Antiterrorist units parachuted into the area to rescue hostages and neutralize terrorists, while a group from the Russian ‘Alpha’ antiterrorist unit role played as terrorists.⁷⁹

Caspian Antiterror 2005

Caspian Antiterror 2005 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia-Ukraine exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place August 17-19, 2005 in the port Aqtau in western Kazakhstan. The exercise included antiterrorist units from security agencies of participants, and Kazakhstan's Ministry of Emergency Situations, in a scenario of rescuing hostages and neutralizing a terrorist group in a fuel-energy industrial complex in the port.⁸⁰

Caspian 2011

Caspian 2011 was a joint Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 29, 2011 in the north of the Caspian Sea (near the Astrakhan Province, Russia). The exercise involved 332 personnel from the Ministry of Emergency Situations of each participant, 9 aircraft (including the Be-200 amphibious plane and the Mi-171 transport helicopter) and 22 ships (including a firefighting ship), and focused on a scenario of responding to a collision between an oil tanker and another ship near an oil drilling platform. Turkmenistan sent observers to the exercise.⁸¹

Central Asia Antiterror-2015

Central Asia Antiterror-2015 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 15-17, 2015 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The SCO command and staff exercise included members of the security services of participants and focused on organizing and carrying out a joint operation to search for terrorist groups in the event of a crisis.⁸²

CENTRASBAT 97

CENTRASBAT 97 was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Georgia-Latvia-Russia-Turkey exercise that took place September 14-21, 1997 near Shymkent, Kazakhstan and at the Chirchik base, Uzbekistan. The first phase of the exercise involved an airborne drop of 540 soldiers (500 from the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division and 40 from CENTRASBAT, made of up soldiers from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan); the soldiers took off from Fort Bragg, North Carolina on September 14 and flew non-stop (with mid-air refuelings) on six C-17 cargo planes to Kazakhstan. The soldiers dropped outside Shymkent and trained on securing an airfield; this was immediately followed by a group of 80 soldiers (40 from Russia and Turkey each flying from their home bases) conducting a drop. Additional soldiers from CENTRASBAT joined the group on the ground and all units conducted peacekeeping drills (setting up checkpoints and vehicle inspections, and delivering humanitarian aid). On September 18 the exercise moved (over land) for the second phase at the Chirchik base in Uzbekistan, where soldiers from Georgia and Latvia also joined the exercise (120 U.S. soldiers remained for the second phase, while the rest departed) and peacekeeping training continued.⁸³

CENTRASBAT 98

CENTRASBAT 98 was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Azerbaijan-Georgia-Russia-Turkey exercise that took place September 22-28, 1998 at the Chirchik base, Uzbekistan and near Osh, Kyrgyzstan. The peacekeeping exercise involved over 700 soldiers (around 250 soldiers from the U.S. 10th Mountain Division, though some estimates put this number at 160

soldiers, 272 soldiers from CENTRASBAT, and another 200 total from the other participants) and during the first phase (at Chirchik) focused on setting up checkpoints, conducting patrols, and containing civil unrest. The second phase (near Osh) focused on establishing a separation zone between belligerents during a conflict.⁸⁴

CENTRASBAT 2000

CENTRASBAT 2000 was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Azerbaijan-Georgia-Mongolia-Russia-Turkey exercise that took place September 11-18, 2000 at the Ilysky range, Kazakhstan. The peacekeeping exercise involved several hundred soldiers from participants (estimates range from 500-1400, reportedly a company from each country; the U.S. 82nd Airborne and the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Divisions were involved) and focused on a scenario of peacekeeping tasks, but also included hostage rescue (with Russian and Uzbek soldiers freeing hostages from Turkish and Mongolian soldiers role-playing as militants), border security, and counterinsurgency. This was the last CENTRASBAT exercise to take place before the battalion disbanded.⁸⁵

CIS Antiterrorist Center Command and Staff Training

The CIS Antiterrorist Center has conducted command and staff training, in addition to joint antiterrorism exercises, since its inception.⁸⁶

Clear Sky 2012

Clear Sky 2012 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place from October 5-16, 2012 in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The exercise included around 20 aircraft (unknown numbers of MiG-31 interceptors, A-50 airborne early warning and control, and Mi-8 transport helicopters) and the air defense systems of each country, and focused on defending the airspace of participants.⁸⁷

Coalition 2003 (also called Cooperation 2003)

Coalition was a joint Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) anti-terror exercise that took place from August 6-12, 2003 in Kazakhstan and China. Around 1,300 total soldiers from China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan participated. The exercise happened in two phases; the first was in Ucharal, Kazakhstan and dealt with a scenario of taking a plane back from hijackers and eliminating terrorists across borders, while the second was in Ili in the Xinjiang Province, China and dealt with hostage rescue operations and destroying terrorist camps.⁸⁸

Cobalt-2010

Cobalt-2010 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place from June 7-11, 2010 at the Kadamovsky District training center in the Russian North Caucasus Regional Command. The exercise included special operations units from law enforcements agencies and interior ministries of participating members (these included the special forces units for the CSTO's Rapid Reaction Force). It focused on operations to target terrorist groups and cut off their sources to traffic drugs and weapons.⁸⁹

Cobalt-2013

Cobalt-2013 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place July 4-12, 2013 at the Kadamovskiy training center, Rostov Oblast, Russia. The CSTO CORF exercise involved around 500 personnel (including the the special purpose units “Zubr” (Bison) and “Rys” (Lynx) from the Russian Interior Ministry) and various armored vehicles (BTR-80 variant) and aircraft (transport helicopters, including an Mi-8 variant) and focused on a scenario of combating a terrorist group that had infiltrated the border of a member state..⁹⁰

Cobalt-2016

Cobalt-2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place May 24-26, 2016 at the Bagramyan training center in Armenia. The CSTO CORF exercise involved more than 500 personnel (the special purpose units “Zubr” (Bison) and “Rys” (Lynx) from the Russian Interior Ministry, members of the National Guard of Kazakhstan, and a unit from the Interior Ministry of Kyrgyzstan) 20 armored vehicles (including the GAZ Tiger) and 4 aircraft (Mi-8 transport helicopters and a Mi-24 variant) and focused on a scenario of conducting joint counterterrorism operations within the CORF. The active phase of the exercise involved an operation to eliminate a terrorist group that had attacked a patrol and military checkpoint and taken hostages. Representatives from the CIS ATC and the SCO attended the exercise..⁹¹

Combat Brotherhood (2006)

Combat Brotherhood was a joint Russia-Uzbekistan exercise that took place from September 19-23, 2006 in the Krasnodar territory, Russia. The exercise included almost 400 airborne and special operation soldiers from Russia and Uzbekistan with the scenario of destroying a group of armed gangs in the region. This was a follow up to the Forish range exercise that took place the previous year in Uzbekistan..⁹²

Combat Brotherhood 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Combat Brotherhood 2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place November 10-20 at the Kharbmaydon and Lyaaur ranges in Tajikistan. The CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF) exercise was the fourth and final part of the CSTO series “Combat Brotherhood-2017” and involved 5,000 personnel, 60 aircraft (including Su-27 and Su-30 fighters, Tu-95 bombers, and transport helicopters) and over 1,000 pieces of equipment (including the Iskander-M short-range ballistic missile system and various unmanned aerial vehicles). The exercise focused on a joint operation to eliminate an armed group in mountainous terrain..⁹³

Combat Brotherhood 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Combat Brotherhood 2018 was a series of operational-strategic exercises consisting of “Poisk-2018 (Search 2018),” “Vozdushniy Most 2018 (Air Bridge 2018),” “Vzaimodeystviye 2018 (Interaction 2018),” and “Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018,” which took place October 2-

November 2, 2018 at various locations of CSTO member states. “Rubezh 2018 (Frontier 2018)” was listed as one of the exercises in the series and reportedly took place October 22-27, 2018 at the Kharbmaydon range (Tajikistan) as an exercise of the Collective Operational Reaction Force, but little information appeared in media at the time the exercise took place.⁹⁴

Combat Commonwealth 2018

Combat Commonwealth 2018 was a joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 18-22, 2018 at the Chorukhdayron training center (Sughd Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise involved around 600 personnel (500 from Tajikistan and 100 from Uzbekistan) and various equipment (including T-72 tanks, armored personnel carriers, helicopters and unmanned aerial vehicles) and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group in the Fergana Valley region.⁹⁵

Combat Commonwealth 2019

Combat Commonwealth 2019 was a joint Belarus-Uzbekistan exercise that took place May 20-27, 2019 at the Gurumsaray range (Namangan Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise involved an unknown number personnel and focused on a joint tactical scenario.⁹⁶

Combat Commonwealth series

Combat Commonwealth is a CIS Joint Air Defense system exercise conducted annually from 1998-2005 (except for 2002), and then every other year. The first exercise in 1998 included Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia. In 1999 Armenia joined in the exercise, and in 2000 Tajikistan and Ukraine participated, in addition to the participants from previous years.⁹⁷

- *Combat Commonwealth 2000* took place at the Ashuluk range near Astrakhan, Russia, from August 21-25, 2000, with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine participating; 1,600 soldiers and 30 aircraft took part in the exercise. The exercise included test firing missile systems (S-75, S-125, and S-300) as well as air strikes with Su-27, Su-25, and Su-24 aircraft.⁹⁸
- *Combat Commonwealth 2001* took place at the Ashuluk range in Russia, from August 22-30, 2001, with Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The exercise included test firing surface-to-air missiles, specifically the S-200V and S-300 systems, in a scenario of stopping enemy airstrikes and regaining airspace control in order to ultimately halt a planned enemy ground offensive. This was the third phase of the exercise; the first took place near Chita, Russia in June, and the second in Russia’s Baltic Sea region (Kaliningrad) in early August.⁹⁹
- *Combat Commonwealth 2003* took place in three phases: the first phase in the Baltic region (in Kaliningrad) from June 15-July 4, 2003 with Russian and Belarus participating; the second phase at the Sary Shagan range, Kazakhstan from July 5-August 20, 2003 with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan participating; and the third phase at the Ashuluk range, Astrakhan, Russia, from September 1-4, 2003 with Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The Minister of Defense from

Turkmenistan attended the third phase as an observer. The third phase included around 1,000 soldiers and 40 aircraft (MiG-29s, Su-24s, Su-25s, and Su-27s), as well as anti-aircraft units (the S-125, variants of the S-300 surface-to-air missile systems) in operational practice against terrorism and regional conflicts..¹⁰⁰

- *Combat Commonwealth 2004* took place April 7, 2004 at command posts and air bases of members of the CIS Air Defense System, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Aircraft (including the A-50 airborne warning and control, Su-27, MiG-29, and MiG-31 fighters, Su-25 close air-support, and Su-24 and Tu-22M3 bombers) from Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan (including Russian units stationed at Kant Airbase in Kyrgyzstan) conducted practice flights..¹⁰¹
- *Combat Commonwealth 2005* took place in three phases: the first phase at the Telemba range in the Chita region, Russia, June 25-July 10, 2005 with Russia and Belarus participating; the second phase at the Sary Shagan range, Kazakhstan, August 5-12, 2005 with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participating; and the third phase at the Ashuluk range, Russia, August 22-30, 2005 with Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan participating and Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan sending observers. The second phase in Kazakhstan included five air defense brigades; while the second included S-75, S-125, and S-300 anti-aircraft missile systems; and A-50 early warning aircraft, Su-27, MiG-29, and MiG-31 fighters, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-24 bombers; and around 2,000 soldiers from participants..¹⁰²
- *Combat Commonwealth 2007* took place in four phases: the first phase at the Telemba range in Chita, Russia, June 20-29, 2007 with Belarus and Russia participating; the second phase at the Ashuluk range, Russia, August 14-24, 2007 with Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia participating and Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan sending observers. The second phase included around 3,000 soldiers and over 30 aircraft and helicopters, including Su-24 bombers, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-27 fighters, MiG-29 fighters, and Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters, as well as S-125 and S-300 missile systems. The exercise focused on a scenario of support operations against a terrorist group. The third and fourth phases took place in late August and September in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan respectively..¹⁰³
- *Combat Commonwealth 2009* took place at the Ashuluk range from August 7-September 18, 2009, with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The exercise focused on the joint use of air force and air defense formations and units and included the S-300 missile defense system and MiG-29 fighter..¹⁰⁴
- *Combat Commonwealth 2011* took place in two phases; the first at the Ashuluk range from September 6-12 with Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Russian, and Tajikistan participating and the second at the Sary Shagan range in Kazakhstan from September 15-October 5, 2011 with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participating. The first phase included over 2,000 military personnel, 30 aircraft (Russian and Belarusian Su-25 close air-support, and Su-27 and MiG-29 fighters, Su-34 fighter bombers, and Tu-22M3 bombers)

and over 25 air defense units (a mix of S-400, S-300, S-200, S-75, and S-125 missile defense systems) in a scenario to provide air support and cut off and destroy a terrorist group.¹⁰⁵

- *Combat Commonwealth 2013* took place from August 13/14-September 12, 2013 over three phases; the first phase (August 14-22) at the Ashuluk range in Russia and the second phase at the Sary Shagan range in Kazakhstan with Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The first phase of the exercise involved around 500 personnel and 100 pieces of equipment (including S-200, S-300, S-400, Pantsir, Buk, and Tor missile systems), while the second phase involved around 2,000 personnel (some estimates mention 4,000) and reportedly 100 pieces of equipment (same equipment from the first phase in addition to S-75 and S-125 missile systems) and around 50 aircraft (including MiG-29 and Su-27 fighters, Su-24 and Su-34 bombers, Su-24 reconnaissance planes, Su-25 close air-support, and Tu-22MR bombers). The exerciser focused on joint interaction of air defense units in reconnaissance, air defense, and close air support in the event of a conflict in the region. Armenia, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan sent observers.¹⁰⁶
- *Combat Commonwealth 2015* took place in multiple phases September 7-25, 2015 at the Ashuluk range (Russia) and the Saryshagan range (Kazakhstan) with units from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan taking part. The exercise involved around 4,000 personnel and included various aircraft (Su-34, Su-30SM, MiG-31BM, Su-27, and MiG-29SMT fighters, Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft, Su-25SM close air support aircraft, and Tu-22M3 bombers from Russia, in addition to MiG-29, MiG-31, Su-27 fighters, MiG-27 close air support aircraft, and Mi-17 and EC-145 transport helicopters from Kazakhstan) and surface-to-air missile systems (S-75, S-125, S-300, and S-400s) in a scenario of joint operations in air defense and support to ground forces during an operation.¹⁰⁷
- *Combat Commonwealth 2017* took place in multiple phases from August 14 – September 22, 2017 at the Saryshagan range (Kazakhstan), Ashuluk range (Russia), and the Chorukh-Dayron and Kharbmaydon ranges (Tajikistan) with aircraft and air defense units from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan taking part. The exercise involved around 2,000 personnel, various aircraft (including MiG-29, MiG-31, Su-27, Su-30, Su-34, and L-39 fighters; Su-24 and Su-25 attack aircraft; Tu-22 bombers and Mi-8AMTSh, Mi-171Sh, Mi35M and EC-145 helicopters) and various air defense systems (including S-75, S-125, S-200, S-300, and 2K11 “Krug” and 2K12 “Kub” surface-to-air missile systems; ZU-23-2 antiaircraft cannon; and the 9K38 “Igla” man-portable surface-to-air missile system) in a scenario of a joint air defense operation.¹⁰⁸

Combined Endeavor

Combined Endeavor is a U.S. European Command (USEUCOM) sponsored interoperability exercise conducted with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. The first exercise took place in 1995, with Central Asian countries participating or observing in subsequent years. The exercise focuses on preparing NATO and PfP countries to

collaborate, plan, and execute ‘C4’ (command, control, communications, and computer) systems in crisis response and combat operations. Kazakhstan has participated in the exercises from 1998-2004 and 2009-2013, while Kyrgyzstan has participated from 1998-2004 and 2012-2013, and Uzbekistan participated from 1998-2004.¹⁰⁹

Commonwealth Shield 2019

Commonwealth Shield 2019 (Щит содружества – 2019) was a joint Pakistan-Turkey-Uzbekistan joint exercise that took place April 22-27, 2019 at the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and focused on eliminating an armed group in mountainous terrain (with the support of Uzbek Mi-24 attack helicopters).¹¹⁰

Commonwealth Southern Shield 1999

Commonwealth Southern Shield 1999 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the CST that took place from October 27-November 2, 1999 in the Osh Province in southern Kyrgyzstan as well as the Fergana Valley region of Uzbekistan, northern Tajikistan in the Vorukh mountain region, and southern Kazakhstan near Shymkent. The exercise included the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, two infantry and one air assault battalion from Tajikistan, units from Uzbekistan’s Air Force, and mountain infantry and special forces units from Kyrgyzstan, focusing on a scenario against an armed incursion in the region, similar to the Batken incursion by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan in August 1999.¹¹¹

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2000

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2000 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the CST that took place March 24-April 3, 2000 in three phases, including a live-fire phase, in the Tigrovaya Balka region of Tajikistan, near Termez and in the Fergana Valley of Uzbekistan. The exercise included airborne units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, air force units from Russia and Uzbekistan, and the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division. The exercise focused on coordinating operational efforts to eliminate terrorists and gangs of religious extremists.¹¹²

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2001

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2001 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the CST that took place from April 2-7, 2001 in Moscow. The virtual command post exercise included general officers from participating members (and from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine) as well as representatives from the Council of Commanders of Border Troops and the CIS Antiterrorist Center. The exercise focused on responding to an assault on Central Asian states by an armed group. While this exercise took place, the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division held an exercise in Tajikistan with a similar scenario.¹¹³

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2002

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2002 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan that took place June 12-June 17, 2002 in two phases, the first near Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and the

second near the Almaty Military Academy, Kazakhstan. This was the first exercise of units in the CSTO's Rapid Deployment Force, including the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, units from Kyrgyzstan's Army, and from Kazakhstan tactical air units and the Kazakh Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT). The scenario was the same as previous years, conducting joint counter-terrorism operations.¹¹⁴

Cooperation-2009

Cooperation-2009 (Взаимодействие-2009) was a joint Armenia-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 2-16, 2009 at the Matybulak training center in southern Kazakhstan. The exercise included a few thousand soldiers, a few hundred tanks and armored personnel carriers and around 40 aircraft and helicopters (Russia contributed around 600 soldiers from the 31st Air Assault Brigade, nine Il-76 transport aircraft, five Su-24 attack and two Tu-22M bomber aircraft, four Mi-8 helicopters, and 93 personnel from the Interior Ministry and Ministry of Emergency Situations; Kazakhstan contributed 1,500 personnel – an unknown number of soldiers; Armenia sent 105, Kyrgyzstan 86, and Tajikistan contributed three). The exercise focused on destroying a terrorist group that seized a chemical plant, hostage rescue, and reconnaissance operations in mountain terrain.¹¹⁵

Cooperation-2010

Cooperation-2010 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 25-28, 2010 at the military facility Chebarkul, in the Chelyabinsk region of Russia. The Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF) exercise included 1,700 soldiers (from Kazakhstan an air assault battalion and 5 Su-25 close air support aircraft, from Kyrgyzstan a mountain infantry platoon, and from Tajikistan an air assault company; Russia sent its 98th Airborne Division – minus a battalion, 12 Il-76s transport planes, an unknown number of Su-24 attack and Su-27 fighter aircraft, and 20 BMPs - infantry fighting vehicles) and focused on a scenario of finding and destroying an armed group that had infiltrated the Ural mountain region.¹¹⁶

Cooperation-2012

Cooperation-2012 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 15-19, 2012 at the Marshal Bagramyan range in Armenia. The CSTO Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF) exercise included around 2,500 personnel (a special forces unit of the National Security Committee of Armenia, the 103rd special forces brigade from Belarus, the 98th Guards Airmobile Division and the Interior Ministry "Lynx" special forces unit from Russia, and an airmobile assault unit from Kazakhstan – presumably the 37th Air Assault Brigade), over 500 pieces of equipment (including tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery pieces), and aircraft (Mi-24 attack helicopters, Su-25 close air support aircraft, and for the first time, an unknown number of unmanned aerial vehicles). Tajikistan sent military observers to the exercise. Participants in the exercise conducted hostage rescue and practiced repelling a terrorist group in the Caucasus region through a combined arms assault.¹¹⁷

Cooperation-2013

Cooperation-2013 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 19-26, 2013 at the Asipovichy range in Belarus. The CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF) exercise included around 600 personnel (including contingents from the Russian 31st Air Assault Brigade, the Belarusian 103rd Special Operations Mobile Brigade, the Kazakh 37th Air Assault Brigade and an Armenian motorized special forces platoon) and around 60 pieces of equipment (including the 2S9 «Nona» 120mm self-propelled artillery) and aircraft (Il-76 transport planes, Su-25 close air support aircraft, and Mi-8 transport and Mi-24 attack helicopters). The exercise focused on a scenario of destroying an armed illegal group of up to 250 people that had taken control of a natural gas compressor station; the active phase of the exercise include the use of unmanned aerial vehicles for reconnaissance followed by a combined arms assault and airdrops of artillery. During the exercise, Belarusian, Russian, and Kazakh forces blocked off the area before the conducting the main assault, while a (separate) Kazakh and Armenian force destroyed the portion of the armed group that had broken off.¹¹⁸

Cooperation-2014

Cooperation-2014 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 18-22, 2014 at the Spassk range in Kazakhstan. The CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF) exercise included around 3000 personnel (the 31st air assault separate brigade and units from the Federal Drug Control Service and Interior Ministry of Russia, the 37th airmobile brigade and a National Guard unit from Kazakhstan, a special forces brigade and Interior Ministry unit from Belarus, an air assault company from Tajikistan, a mountain-rifle company from Kyrgyzstan, and a police special purpose unit from Armenia, as well as air defense units from Russia and Kazakhstan), a few hundred pieces of equipment (including BM-21 “Grad” and TOS-1 rocket launchers, BTR-80A armored personnel carriers, D-30 122mm howitzers, BMD-2 airborne infantry fighting vehicles, BTR-D armored personnel carriers, and 2S9 Nona self propelled 120mm mortars), and 30 aircraft and helicopters (including Su-25 close air support aircraft, Su-27 fighters – acting in a bomber role, Il-76 transport aircraft, Mi-17 and Mi-26 transport helicopters, and Mi-24 attack helicopters). The exercise focused on a scenario of a CSTO member (named Karaniya for the exercise) dealing with a situation in a non-member, bordering state (named Irtishiya); a separatist movement (as a result of interethnic tension) in Irtishiya threatened the territorial integrity of Karaniya and the tactical (active) phase of the exercise involved CSTO reaction forces deploying and combating an illegal armed group through a combined arms assault, as well as information and psychological warfare.¹¹⁹

Cooperation-2015

Cooperation-2015 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 22-28, 2015 at the Strugi Krasniye range (Pskov Oblast) in Russia. The CSTO CORF exercise included 2,000 personnel (an airborne and Ministry for Emergency Situations units from Russia; airborne and nuclear, biological, and chemical units from Kazakhstan; around 50 paratroopers from Kyrgyzstan; and an airmobile platoon from Tajikistan), 40 aircraft (including the Su-27, Su-24, Il-76, Mi-24, Mi-26, and Ka-52) and 200 pieces of equipment (including the Sprut tank destroyer, BMD-2, and assorted artillery) in a

scenario of eliminating an irregular armed group. The active phase of the exercise involved Belarusian forces traveling 350 km over land into position, while Kazakh forces were transported by rail and all other units were transported by air to eliminate a foreign military contingent (note: reports on the exercise mentioned the exercise's opposing force as an irregular armed group and a foreign military), all with through the coordination using the "Andromeda-D" command and control system, in addition to dealing with disaster relief and decontamination in adverse weather situations.¹²⁰

Cooperation-2016

Cooperation-2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 16-19, 2016 at multiple locations in the Pskov and Leningrad Oblasts, Russia. The CSTO CORF exercise included 6000 personnel (including 1300 from the CORF and the rest from the Russian Western Military District) and a large number of pieces of equipment (various artillery, including the TOS-1) and aircraft (including Su-34 fighters, Su-24 bombers, and Mi-8, Mi-28, and Ka-52 helicopters). The exercise scenario involved a conflict near the border of a member state and combating, through a combined arms assault, an outside force that had invaded under the guise of a peacekeeping mission not sanctioned by the UN. The exercise also included a psy-ops component of broadcasting messages in Russian, German, Polish and English at the opposing force.¹²¹

Cooperation-2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Cooperation-2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 9-13, 2017 at the Bagramyan and Alagyaz bases in Armenia. The exercise was the second part of the CSTO series "Combat Brotherhood-2017" and involved around 2,500 personnel, 500 pieces of equipment and 25 aircraft (including MiG-29 fighters, Mi-24 attack helicopters and Mi-8 transport helicopters). The exercise took place over several phases at Alagyaz and Bagramyan: the first set of phases at Alagyaz focused on a scenario of Russian forces deploying from the Southern Military District in response to an incursion in Armenia alongside Armenian units and Russian units from the 102nd Military Base (Gyumri), while the second set of phases at Bagramyan focused on coordinating a joint operation of CSTO members to combat an armed group. The phases at Bagramyan also involved the Armenian Ministry of Emergency Situations and the International Red Cross.¹²²

Cooperation 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Cooperation 2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 10-13 at the Edelweiss training center (Issyk Kul Oblast), Kyrgyzstan. The command-staff exercise was the second in the series of CSTO exercises titled "Combat Brotherhood-2018" and involved around 1600 personnel from participants (from the units of members' contribution to the Collective Operational Reaction Force) and various equipment and aircraft in a scenario of responding to and eliminating an armed terrorist group in a member state.¹²³

Cooperation-2019

Cooperation-2019 was a joint China-Uzbekistan exercise that took place May 5-15, 2019 at the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise included an unknown number of personnel from Uzbekistan's National Guard and Chinese People's Armed Police and focused on a joint counterterrorism operation.¹²⁴

Cooperative Nugget series

Cooperative Nugget was a peacekeeping exercise held in 1995, 1997, 2000, and 2002; the exercises emphasized interoperability with NATO and PfP members. The first exercise took place in 1995 at Fort Polk, Louisiana with a platoon each from Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, in addition to several European countries, as participants. The exercise focused on developing peacekeeping and refugee assistance skills. The second exercise, held in June-July 1997 at Fort Polk, Louisiana, focused again on developing peacekeeping skills. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan sent a platoon to participate with several other European countries. The third exercise took place in two phases, at Kaiserslautern, Germany in March 2000, and at Fort Carson, Colorado in May 2000. Officers from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan attended and the exercise focused on a command post and computer based peacekeeping scenario.¹²⁵

Cooperative Osprey series

Cooperative Osprey was a peacekeeping exercise that took place in 1996, 1998, and 2001 through the NATO PfP program and like the Cooperative Nugget Exercises, focused on peacekeeping interoperability with NATO. The first exercise took place at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, August 24-26, 1996 with units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan in attendance, as well as from other PfP members. The exercise included amphibious and maritime operations off the shore of North Carolina. The second exercise also took place at Camp Lejeune, June 1-20, 1998 with approximately 42 soldiers each from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. The third and final exercise under this name took place at Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Clementsport, Nova Scotia, March 1-9, 2001 with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan attending. The exercise conducted computer based training.¹²⁶

Cooperative Safeguard 2002

Cooperative Safeguard 2002 was a joint exercise of NATO and NATO partners, including participants from Uzbekistan, that took place June 24-July 1, 2002 on the Vestmannaeyjar archipelago off the southern coast of Iceland. The exercise focused on search and rescue procedures and humanitarian relief in response to a volcanic eruption.¹²⁷

Cooperative Zenith 2002

Cooperative Zenith 2002 was a joint exercise of NATO and NATO partners, including participants from Uzbekistan, that took place September 5-13, 2002 at Moody Air Force Base in the U.S. The exercise focused on developing interoperability for air operations.¹²⁸

Coordination 2006

Coordination 2006 was a joint China-Tajikistan exercise that took place from September 22-23, 2006 near Kulyab, Tajikistan. The exercise included over 450 soldiers (around 150 Chinese and over 300 from Tajikistan) and a Chinese aviation unit in a mountain warfare scenario with a hostage rescue.¹²⁹

Cyber-Antiterror-2016

Cyber-Antiterror-2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place in two phases, the first from May 23-25 in multiple locations and the second from May 31-June 2, 2016 at the Lukoml power station in Belarus. The first phase took place simultaneously in each of the participating states and involved their respective security services defending against large-scale Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) attacks on critical infrastructure and dealing with CryptoLocker ransomware on a network. The security services coordinated their efforts through the CIS Antiterrorism Center during the first phase. The second phase involved special purpose units from the KGB, Interior and Defense Ministries, and the Border Guard Service of Belarus in a scenario of preventing a terrorist attack on the Lukoml power station. In this scenario, the group responsible for carrying out the DDoS attacks planned a backup attack on the Lukoml station and took hostages. The units involved in the exercise then carried out a counterterrorism operation and worked on hostage rescue.¹³⁰

Dostuk-2013

Dostuk-2013 (Достук-2013, Friendship-2013) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place June 5-10, 2013 at the Buzhum range in Batken Province, Kyrgyzstan. Dostuk (Friendship) included an unknown number of soldiers (though it was called a battalion-tactical exercise) from Kyrgyzstan's Ministry of Defense and Southwest regional command, a self-propelled artillery battalion, a unit from the Ministry of Emergency Situations, and the quick reaction unit "Sher" from the Interior Ministry (Batken Province), in addition to Russian Su-25 close air support aircraft and Mi-8 helicopters from the Kant Airbase. The scenario of the exercise focused on eliminating a group of a few hundred militants crossed the border from Uzbekistan and had taken over a mountain village in Batken. During the live-fire portion of the exercise on June 7, grounds forces from Kyrgyzstan blocked off the village before "Sher" assaulted and freed the hostages. Artillery and Su-25s then destroyed the remaining militants.¹³¹

Dushanbe-Antiterror-2017

Dushanbe-Antiterror-2017 was a joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place May 30-June 1 at multiple locations in Tajikistan. Prior to the exercise in Tajikistan, the CIS Antiterrorism Center (ATC) held a joint command and staff exercise (also called Dushanbe Antiterror-2017), which involved countering the recruitment efforts of terrorists groups through the internet. This phase included the security agencies of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan training in their own territory. The CIS ATC exercise in Tajikistan took place at the military facilities of Kharbmaydon and Lyaur as well as in the city of Dushanbe and included around 5000 personnel (2000 from Russia and 3000 from Tajikistan), and around 400 various aircraft and equipment (including Su-24M bombers, Mi-24 attack helicopters and Mi-8 transport helicopters, all of which deployed from units in Russia prior to the exercise). The exercise also

included the use of the Iskender ballistic missile system (which also deployed from Russia for the exercise), which is the first time the system appeared at an exercise outside of Russia in addition to the armed forces of participants being used for a CIS ATC exercise. The exercise focused on a scenario of combating a terrorist group near the Tajik-Afghan border and an operation (by Russian and Tajik special purpose units) to free hostages and retake a TV station and other infrastructure that had been seized by the terrorist group.¹³²

Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) series

The Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) coordinates disaster relief operations for NATO and NATO Partnership for Peace members.¹³³ EADRCC conducted several joint exercises since 2000 that included Central Asian participants.¹³⁴

- *Dacia 2003*
Dacia 2003 was a joint EADRCC exercise took place October 7-10, 2003 in Pitesti, Romania. The exercise involved around 1600 civil emergency personnel from participating countries (including the U.S. and Uzbekistan) in a scenario of responding to a terrorist attack conducted with radioactive materials.¹³⁵
- *Ferghana 2003*
Ferghana 2003 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place April 28-30, 2003 in the Ferghana Valley region of Uzbekistan. The exercise included over 1000 personnel from Uzbekistan and 225 personnel from other countries (including the U.S., Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan) and focused on civil-military disaster response to an earthquake and flooding.¹³⁶
- *Zhetysu 2009*
Zhetysu 2009 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place September 5-10, 2009 at the “Rock City – Astana” training range on the Ili River (around 20 km north of Kapchagay, Almaty Province). The exercise involved over 1000 personnel from participating countries (including a few hundred from Kazakhstan’s Ministry of Emergency Situations) in a scenario of disaster relief following an earthquake.¹³⁷
- *CODRII 2011*
CODRII 2011 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place August 27-September 5, 2011 near the city of Chisinau, Moldova. The exercise involved around 1300 personnel (including 15 from Kazakhstan and 10 from Kyrgyzstan; both countries personnel were search and rescue teams) in a scenario of disaster relief operations following an earthquake.¹³⁸
- *Georgia 2012*
Georgia 2012 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place September 22-28, 2012 near Tblisi, Georgia. The exercise involved 1000 personnel (including an unknown number from Kazakhstan) in a scenario of disaster relief operations following an earthquake, particularly preventing the release of chemicals from a damaged chemical plant.¹³⁹

Exercise-01

Exercise-01 was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place from October 10-11, 2002 on their border region of the Pamir-Alay mountain range. The exercise included hundreds of soldiers from both sides as well as border forces in an anti-terror scenario.¹⁴⁰

Grom-2012

Grom-2012 (Гром-2012, Thunder-2012) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise, conducted through the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), that took place on September 14, 2012 at the Geodiziya range (near the city of Krasnoarmeysk, around 30 miles north of Moscow). Participating in the exercise were the units “Thunder” (from the Russian federal drug control agency), “Bison and Lynx” (from the Interior Ministry), “Hawk” (a special aviation detachment from the Interior Ministry), as well as special purpose units from the drug control agencies of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The counternarcotics exercise focused on joint tactics in a scenario of finding and destroying an armed criminal group involved in drug trafficking.¹⁴¹

Grom-2013

Grom-2013 (Гром-2013, Thunder-2013) was a joint Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place over two phases; the first from August 27-September 6, 2013 in the Osh Province, Kyrgyzstan and the second September 15-20, 2013 at the “Ala-Too” range outside Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The second phase of the CSTO exercise involved units from Kyrgyzstan’s Interior Ministry (a Special Rapid Reaction Unit) and Drug Control Agency, a unit each from Russia’s and Tajikistan’s Drug Control Agencies, personnel from the Drug Control Agencies of Belarus and Kazakhstan, as well as aircraft from the Kant Airbase. The exercise focused on a joint counternarcotics operation; during the first phase units trained in detecting routes of drug traffickers in mountain roads near the Fergana Valley while the second phase involved destroying drug labs, freeing hostages, and eliminating a group of traffickers. The second phase also involved a helicopter insertion (with Mi-8s) followed by an air strike (with Su-25s) conducted by aircraft from the Kant Airbase.¹⁴²

Grom-2015

Grom-2015 (Гром-2015, Thunder-2015) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 27-September 3, 2015 at the Fahrabad range (Khatlon Oblast), Tajikistan with a field headquarters set up at the Momirak range. The exercise involved around 500 personnel (including personnel from the Russian Drug Control Agency, FSB, and soldiers from the 201st Motorized Rifle Division; members of Tajikistan’s Drug Control Agency, National Security Committee, Interior Ministry, National Guard, and Ministry of Defense, as well as small contingents from other participants) in a scenario of developing tactics to combat armed drug traffickers, including seizures of drugs and weapons, cutting off trafficking routes, arresting traffickers, and rescuing hostages. Additionally, the exercise was the last part in a series in 2015 that tracked the trafficking route from destination (Russia) to source (the Tajik-Afghan border).¹⁴³

International Workshop for Earthquake/Emergency Response (IWER) series

IWER (renamed International Workshop for Emergency Response in 2000) was a series of joint, interagency exercises or workshops conducted from 1999-2004 that focused on disaster response scenarios..¹⁴⁴

- *IWER 1999* was a joint Kazakhstan-U.S.-Kyrgyzstan-Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan two part exercise that took place in January 1999 (first part) in Phoenix, Arizona and from May 17-21, 1999 (second part) in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The exercise focused on coordinating responses of civil protection services during emergencies. The exercise included soldiers from the Arizona National Guard, members of Kazakhstan's Ministry of Emergency Situations, and personnel from Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan..¹⁴⁵
- *IWER 2000* was a workshop that took place November 13-17, 2000 in Phoenix, Arizona. The workshop was attended by representatives from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan as well as members of the Arizona, Louisiana, and Montana National Guard. The workshop included rescue demonstrations in various scenarios..¹⁴⁶
- *IWER 2001* took place in 2001 in Arizona and was attended by representatives from Kazakhstan..¹⁴⁷
- *IWER 2002* took place in May 2002 in Bishkek and focused on emergency responses to earthquakes..¹⁴⁸
- *IWER 2003* was a joint Uzbekistan-U.S. exercise that took place May 18-25, 2003 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and focused on a chemical disaster scenario..¹⁴⁹
- *IWER 2004* took place September 20-24, 2004 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The workshop included capabilities demonstrations of hazardous materials incident response, firefighting, emergency medical care for mass casualties, weapons of mass destruction incident response, and search and rescue. Participants included Uzbekistan's Ministry for Emergency Situations, the Louisiana National Guard, and representatives from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan..¹⁵⁰

Issyk-Kul Antiterror 2007

Issyk-Kul was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the SCO that took place May 28-31, 2007 at a training facility near the town of Balykchy on Lake Issyk-Kul. The exercise included law enforcement and special forces units from all participants (the 'Scorpion' mountain warfare unit participated for Kyrgyzstan), representatives from the SCO Regional Antiterrorist Structure, CSTO, the CIS Antiterrorist Center, and observers from India, Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan. The exercise involved a scenario of three stages; in the first and second stages a group of armed militants seized a village and a dam while taking hostages at the latter, in the third stage the participating special forces units rescued the hostages, detained or disarmed militants, and practiced bomb disposal..¹⁵¹

Issyk-Kul-Antiterror-2018

Issyk-Kul-Antiterror-2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 24-26, 2018 at the Edelweiss training center, Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved several hundred personnel (including from Kyrgyzstan's GKNB, Interior Ministry and General Staff) and various aircraft (including Su-25 close air support aircraft, Su-24 bombers) and equipment (including the Iskander-M ballistic missile system, the first time the system was transferred outside Russia for an exercise). The exercise focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group that had infiltrated Kyrgyzstan, including a hostage rescue situation at an airport.¹⁵²

Jaihun 2018

Jaihun 2018 was a joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place August 17-18, 2018 in the Shahritus District (Khatlon Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from the Tajik and Uzbek border guards and focused on jointly combating threats to border security, countering narcotics trafficking and eliminating armed groups from Afghanistan.¹⁵³

Joint Border Operation 2013

Joint Border Operation 2013 was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place August 11, 2013 on the Chinese-Kyrgyz border (Torugart Pass). The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from the border forces of both countries and focused on a scenario of preventing a terrorist group from smuggling weapons and equipment across the Chinese-Kyrgyz border to conduct an attack in China; this included the use of the SCO's Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS), which during the scenario, supplied information about the attack. Observers from Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Iran, Pakistan, and the SCO attended the exercise.¹⁵⁴

Kanzhar-2011

Kanzhar-2011 (Канжар-2011, Dagger-2011) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-India exercise that took place December 1-21, 2011 at a special forces training facility near Nahan, India. The exercise involved 20 airborne soldiers from Kyrgyzstan and an unknown number from India and focused on developing cooperation and exchanging tactical experiences.¹⁵⁵

Kanzhar-2015

Kanzhar-2015 (Канжар-2015, Dagger-2015) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-India exercise that took place March 11-25, 2015 in Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved around 50 soldiers (special forces unit) from India and an unknown number of Kyrgyz soldiers from the special forces unit Scorpion (Ministry of Defense) in a scenario of combating an armed group in mountainous terrain in addition to first aid and other tactical training.¹⁵⁶

KAZIND-2018

KAZIND-2018 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place September 10-23, 2018 at the Matybulak training facility (Otar military base, Zhambyl Oblast), Kazakhstan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (units from Kazakhstan's Regional Command South

and around 90 soldiers from the 5th Ladakh Scouts Regiment of India), various equipment and focused on a joint counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operation under a UN mandate.¹⁵⁷

Khaan Quest 2014

Khaan Quest 2014 was a joint exercise with 24 countries participating, including the U.S., UK, Russia, Mongolia and Tajikistan that took place June 20-July 1, 2014 at the Five Hills Training Center near Ulaanbaator, Mongolia. The exercise involved over 1000 personnel (300 from the U.S. and an unknown number from Tajikistan) and focused on peacekeeping tasks (command and staff training, conducting humanitarian aid, riot control, and riverine patrols).¹⁵⁸

Khaan Quest 2015

Khaan Quest 2015 was a joint exercise with 23 countries participating, including the U.S., UK, China, Mongolia and Tajikistan that took place June 20 – July 1, 2015 at the Five Hills Training Center near Ulaanbaator, Mongolia. It included a command post exercise and a field training exercise and involved around 1200 soldiers (600 from Mongolia and 300 from the U.S.) and focused on peacekeeping tasks (dismounted patrols, cordon and search, establishing checkpoints, convoy protection, casualty evacuation, and riot control).¹⁵⁹

Khaan Quest 2016

Khaan Quest 2016 was a joint exercise with 47 countries participating, including the U.S., UK, China, Russia, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan that took place May 22-June 4, 2016 at the Five Hills Training Center near Ulaanbaator, Mongolia. The peacekeeping exercise involved around 2,000 personnel and included four components: a command post exercise, a field training exercise (which focused on peacekeeping tasks), an engineering civic action program, and a health services support engagement, as well as training in countering improvised explosive devices, utilizing unmanned aerial vehicles, and first-aid.¹⁶⁰

Norak Anti-terror 2009

Norak Anti-terror 2009 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise held from April 17-19, 2009 in the Fakhrobod training grounds, Tajikistan. The SCO exercise included specialized units from participant militaries and an unknown amount of armored vehicles and Mi-8 helicopters. It focused on an operation to put special forces into a crisis situation and hostage negotiation.¹⁶¹

Okhota na lis – 2015

Okhota na lis (Охота на лис, Fox hunt) – 2015 was a joint Kazakhstan-China exercise that took place over two phases in late October and November 5, 2015 (Note: the exercise has also been called “Antiterror-2015” in some media). The first phase of the exercise was carried out at the “Korla” training center in Xinjiang Province, China and involved a scenario of combating a terrorist group through a joint operation in a mountainous border area with over 100 total personnel from Kazakh and Chinese special forces units. The second phase took place at the “Koktal” range in the Almaty Oblast, Kazakhstan on November 5 and focused on the same scenario. Additionally, during both phases, soldiers from Kazakhstan used Chinese weapons.¹⁶²

Peace Mission 2005

Peace Mission 2005 was a joint China-Russian exercise that took place from August 18-25, 2005 in the Shandong Peninsula, China and Vladivostok, Russia. The exercise included approximately 9,800 soldiers (8,000 Chinese and 1,800 Russian), 140 naval ships, and from Russia, two Tu-95MS and four Tu-22M3 long range bombers. The exercise was a scenario of responding to an interethnic conflict; this was done through a combined amphibious and airborne assault done by Chinese and Russian troops respectively.¹⁶³

Peace Mission 2007

Peace Mission 2007 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the SCO from August 9-17, 2007, the first exercise with all SCO members participating. The anti-terror exercise took place in parts, the first in Chelyabinsk, Russian and the second in Urumqi, Xinjiang, China. Around 6,500 soldiers participated (1,600 from China; 2,000 Russia; 143 Kazakhstan; 120 Tajikistan and unknown amounts from Kyrgyzstan, while Uzbekistan only sent a few officers) supported by armored vehicles, artillery, bombers, fighters, and helicopters in a scenario similar to the events of Andijan, Uzbekistan in 2005.¹⁶⁴

Peace Mission 2009

Peace Mission 2009 was a joint China-Russia anti-terror exercise that took place from July 22-26, 2009 in three phases; the first phase was in Khabarovsk, Russia and the second and third in Shenyang, China. The exercise included a combined 3,000 soldiers, 300 armored vehicles, and 40 aircraft.¹⁶⁵

Peace Mission 2010

Peace Mission 2010 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the SCO from September 9-25, 2010 at the Matybulak Range in southern Kazakhstan. A total of 5,000 soldiers participated with 300 military vehicles (including tanks, self-propelled artillery, and infantry fighting vehicles) and 50 combat aircraft (including Russian Su-24 bombers, Su-25 close air support aircraft, and Mi-8 helicopters, and Chinese J-10 fighters and H-6 bombers) in a three phase exercise to increase interoperability of SCO forces to respond to an attack on a member state from terrorists, extremists, or separatists. The first phase was strategic consultation, followed by a second phase of coordinated drills and maneuvers for the third phase of a combined arms exercise.¹⁶⁶

Peace Mission 2012

Peace Mission 2012 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the SCO that took place from June 9-14, 2012 at the Chorukh-Dayron range in the Sugd Province, Tajikistan. Over 2,000 soldiers participated (Russia sent over 350 soldiers) with over 500 vehicles (including BTR-80s armored personnel carriers) and aircraft (including Su-24 bombers, Mi-17 transport helicopters, Mi-24 and WZ-9 attack helicopters, and an AN-26 transport plane) in a three phase exercise that focused on a scenario of blocking off an area where a group of armed terrorists seized a village (in mountainous terrain), then moving civilians out of the area before destroying the group through a combined arms assault. The first phase and

second phases included planning and coordinating for the third phase of carrying out the exercise..¹⁶⁷

Peace Mission 2014

Peace Mission 2014 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the SCO that took place August 24-29, 2014 at the Zhurihe range (on a mock-up city constructed in 2012), Inner Mongolia, China. The exercise involved several thousand service members from participants, including around 5000 from China, over 800 soldiers from Russia (from the 36th Guards Motorized Rifle Brigade), over 300 soldiers from Kazakhstan (from the 37th Air Assault Brigade), around 500 soldiers from Kyrgyzstan (special forces units Ilbirs and Scorpion), and over 200 soldiers from Tajikistan (from the 7th Air Assault Brigade) in addition to various pieces of equipment (“Shilka” anti-aircraft systems, BM-21 rocket launchers, and Akatsiya self-propelled artillery from Russia; BMD infantry fighting vehicles from China; and BTR armored personnel carriers from Kazakhstan) and aircraft (Su-25 close air support aircraft, Il-76 transporters, and Mi-8 transport helicopters from Russia; Xian H-6 bombers and Z-8 transport helicopters from China; and Su-27 fighters from Kazakhstan). The active phase of the exercise focused on combating a large group of terrorists that had taken over an urban area and held hostages. Chinese, Kazakh, and Russian aircraft cleared an area outside the city, then Russian ground forces, together with Tajiks and Chinese forces, surrounded the terrorist group and assaulted them; around the same time, a Chinese special forces unit and Kazakh paratroopers took over an airfield outside the city, while Chinese and Kyrgyz special forces practiced hostage rescue on multi-story buildings..¹⁶⁸

Peace Mission 2016

Peace Mission-2016 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 15-21, 2016 at the “Edelweiss” training center in the Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise included 2000 personnel from participants (500 from the Russian 55th Separate Motorized Mountain Rifle Brigade, which specializes in mountain warfare and 300 from China), 40 aircraft (including Russian Tu-95MS, Tu-22M3 and Su-24M bombers, Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft, Su-25 close air support aircraft, Mi24 attack helicopters, Mi-8 transport helicopters, some of which came from the Kant Airbase; additionally, an armed variant of the Chinese Z-9 helicopter took part), and 300 pieces of equipment (an assortment of armored vehicles and artillery, 60 pieces of which came from China). The counterterrorism exercise focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group that had infiltrated the border of a member state through a combined arms assault. Tactical parts of the exercise included a hostage rescue, countering improvised explosive devices, and evacuating civilians..¹⁶⁹

Poisk 2016

Posik 2016 (Поиск-2016, Search-2016) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place April 18-22, 2016 at the Magob and Lyaaur ranges in Tajikistan. The reconnaissance exercise (the first of its kind for the CSTO) involved around 1500 personnel (reconnaissance units from participants, including an air mobile unit from Russia and the unit “Ilbirs” from Kyrgyzstan) various aircraft (Mi-8 transport and Mi-24 attack helicopters and Su-24 MR reconnaissance aircraft) and unmanned aerial vehicles (Forpost) and signals

intelligence/surveillance systems (Torn-8P and Strelets) and focused on a scenario of conducting reconnaissance on a terrorist group in mountainous terrain and carrying out an operation to eliminate it.¹⁷⁰

Poisk 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Poisk 2017 (Поиск, Search) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 3-7, 2017 at the Southern Military District Headquarters in Rostov-Na-Don, Russia and at the Bagramyan base in Armenia. The exercise was the first in a series of CSTO exercises titled “Combat Brotherhood-2017” and involved over 1000 personnel from intelligence and reconnaissance units of participants and 15 aircraft (fixed-wing and rotary) and took place over two phases. The first phase (October 3-4) took place in Rostov-Na-Don and focused on a scenario of a CSTO command and staff response to a conflict in a member state, while the second phase (October 5-7) took place at Bagramyan and focused on continuing the command and staff phase in addition to conducting reconnaissance, exchanging real-time intelligence with commanders of the CSTO’s Collective Operational Reaction Force and carrying out special operations.¹⁷¹

Poisk 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Poisk 2018 (Поиск, Search) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan that took place October 1-5, 2018 at the Otar (40th) military base (among other facilities in the Zhambyl Oblast) in Kazakhstan. The exercise was the first in a series of CSTO exercises titled “Combat Brotherhood-2018” (the second time this series took place) and involved around 3000 personnel from intelligence and reconnaissance and special purpose units (including an amphibious assault squad from Kazakhstan) of participants and 500 pieces of equipment (including two Russian Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft and an unknown number of Orlan and Forpost unmanned aerial vehicles) and focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group (at the bases of Matybulak, Munke, Aysha-bibi and Teris-Ashchybulak in Zhambyl).¹⁷²

Prabal Dostyk 16

Prabal Dostyk 16 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place September 3-17, 2016 in the Karaganda Oblast, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (both participants sent a platoon) and focused on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations in rural and semi-urban settings.¹⁷³

Prabal Dostyk 2017

Prabal Dostyk 2017 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place November 2-14, 2017 in Bakloh, Himachal Pradesh, India. The exercise involved 40 personnel (a platoon from India’s 11th Gorkha Rifles and a Kazakh platoon) and focused on a joint counterterrorism operation.¹⁷⁴

Regional Cooperation series

The Regional Cooperation exercises are the successor military exercises of CENTRASBAT; the exercises have largely focused on disaster response. The exercises are mainly conducted as simulated training, not in the field, and U.S. participants have often been from state National

Guard units. The exercise has been held annually since 2001, although the exercises in 2002 and 2003 were cancelled because of combat operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.¹⁷⁵

- *Regional Cooperation 2001* (also referred to as CENTRASBAT 2001), was a command post exercise held at U.S. training facilities at Ramstein Airbase, Germany with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, and the United States participating.¹⁷⁶
- *Regional Cooperation 2004* was a battalion-level command post exercise that took place in September 2004 in Germany with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, and the United States participating in a disaster response scenario. Turkmenistan sent observers and Uzbekistan declined because of Pakistan's presence.¹⁷⁷
- *Regional Cooperation 2005* took place at the Joint Warfighting Center in Suffolk, Virginia with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, and the United States participating. The exercise emphasized border security, illegal migration, and narcotics trafficking. This was the first exercise to utilize a region coordination center, which would be used in subsequent exercises.¹⁷⁸
- *Regional Cooperation 2006* took place in July 16-25, 2006 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States as participants. Russia and Turkmenistan sent observers. The exercise focused on responding to acts of terrorism during disaster situations.¹⁷⁹
- *Regional Cooperation 2007* took place in June 2007 in Astana, Kazakhstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise focused on disaster response.¹⁸⁰
- *Regional Cooperation 2008* took place July 15-24, 2008 in Kyrgyzstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise worked on a scenario of a natural disaster followed by terrorist attacks on infrastructure.¹⁸¹
- *Regional Cooperation 2009* took place July 31-August 10, 2009 in Tajikistan, with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. Again, the simulated exercise focused on responding to an earthquake and a series of terrorist attacks in Tajikistan.¹⁸²
- *Regional Cooperation 2010* took place August 19-28, 2010 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. In attendance were participants from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States. The exercise scenario dealt with civil unrest following a natural disaster in Kyrgyzstan.¹⁸³
- *Regional Cooperation 2011* took place September 23-27, 2011 in Dushanbe, Tajikistan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States

participating. The exercise focused on responding to an earthquake in northern Tajikistan, including rescue operations and combating civil unrest and terrorism.¹⁸⁴

- *Regional Cooperation 2012* took place June 18-29, 2012 in Kyrgyzstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise involved around 300 personnel from participating countries (including personnel from Interior Ministries, Border Forces, and Emergency Ministries) and focused on responding to disasters and acts of terrorism; the exercise ended practical emergency training in the field.¹⁸⁵
- *Regional Cooperation 2013* took place July 8-18, 2013 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany (George C. Marshall Center) with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise focused on a coordinated response to an earthquake and a subsequent explosion at an ammonia plant set off by a terrorist group, the latter of which was dealt with strictly through information operations; officers from Kazakhstan took the lead on the overall scenario response.¹⁸⁶
- *Regional Cooperation 2014* took place September 17-24, 2014 at Camp Edwards, Joint Base Cape Cod in Massachusetts with Tajikistan (who also took the lead in the exercise), Afghanistan, Mongolia, and the U.S. participating; Kazakhstan sent observers. The command post exercise focused on a peacekeeping scenario and developing interoperability among participants.¹⁸⁷
- *Regional Cooperation 2015* took place September 16-24, 2015 in Dushabe, Tajikistan with a total of 187 personnel from Tajikistan, the U.S., Afghanistan, Pakistan and Mongolia participating. The exercise included a computer based phase and a field portion and focused on peacekeeping.¹⁸⁸
- *Regional Cooperation 2016* took place September 16-28, 2016 at the Joint Base Cape Cod, Massachusetts with around 200 personnel from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, the U.S., Mongolia and Pakistan. The command post exercise focused on interoperability and best practices on counterterrorism, border security, and peacekeeping operations.¹⁸⁹
- *Regional Cooperation 2017* took place July 10-23 in Dushanbe and Fakhrrabad, Tajikistan with over 200 personnel taking part from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, the U.S., Mongolia and Pakistan, while Kazakhstan sent observers. The exercise included command post (in Dushanbe) and field (in Fakhrrabad) phases and focused on a scenario of a conducting a UN mandated peacekeeping mission.¹⁹⁰
- *Regional Cooperation 2018* took place September 10-21, 2018 at the Joint Base Cape Cod, Massachusetts with around 200 personnel participating from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, the U.S., Afghanistan and Mongolia, while Kazakhstan sent observers. The exercise focused on interoperability and a joint response to several scenarios.¹⁹¹

Regional Exercise 2014

Regional Exercise 2014 (REGEX 2014) was a command post exercise of NATO partners (including several officers from Kazakhstan's Peacekeeping Brigade) that took place October 20-24, 2014 at the Ataturk Wargaming and Convention Center in Instabul, Turkey. The exercise focused on coordination and planning for a multinational peacekeeping operation.¹⁹²

RESCUER/MEDCUER

The RESCUER/MEDCUER exercises are typically conducted with EUCOM countries, but in September 2005 the exercise included participants from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The exercise took place over two weeks in Tbilisi, Georgia and focused on disaster response and mass casualty evacuation.¹⁹³

Rubezh 2004

Rubezh 2004 (Рубеж, Frontier) was a joint military exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The exercise took place August 2-6, 2004 in two phases; the first phase was near Almaty, Kazakhstan and the second phase at the Edelweiss training facility near Balykchy, Kyrgyzstan. The first phase focused on training for joint actions and the second phase focused on a scenario of destroying an international terrorist group through ground and air assaults; the scenario is based on a terrorist group operating in the Fergana Valley. The exercise included around 1,700 soldiers from members; Russia contributed a special forces unit, Su-25s and MiG-29s, and Mi-8, Mi-24, and Ka-50 helicopters, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan contributed a battalion, and Tajikistan sent two battalions. Kyrgyzstan also provided logistical support.¹⁹⁴

Rubezh 2005

Rubezh 2005 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The exercise took place April 2-6, 2005 in two phases; the first in Dushanbe and the second near Kurgan-Tyube, Tajikistan. The first phase focused on joint staff training and the second phase focused on a scenario of a border outpost repelling an enemy attempting to cross the border through retaliatory strikes with Su-24 and Su-25 attack aircraft and Su-27 fighters and unknown number of soldiers.¹⁹⁵

Rubezh 2006

Rubezh 2006 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The exercise took place August 24-29, 2006 around 30 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Aqtau, Kazakhstan. The exercise included a total of 2,500 soldiers, 60 armored vehicles, 35 aircraft, and 14 warships. The exercise focused on a scenario of destroying a terrorist group through a combined arms assault; air mobile units joined with marine forces landing on the Caspian shore in the ground assault while aircraft and artillery provided support. Some of the participating units in Rubezh exercises were designated for the CRDF CAR.¹⁹⁶

Rubezh 2007

Rubezh 2007 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Russia, and Tajikistan while Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan sent observers. The exercise took place March 27-April 6, 2007 at the Lyaur range north of Dushanbe, Tajikistan. The exercise included around 500

soldiers, 50 armored vehicles, and an unknown number of Su-25 attack aircraft and Mi-24 helicopters and focused on detecting and destroying terrorist groups..¹⁹⁷

Rubezh 2008

Rubezh 2008 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Armenia, Russia, and Tajikistan that took place July 22-August 22, 2008 at a training range west of Yerevan, Armenia. The exercise included around 4,000 soldiers from the military and border forces of Armenia, troops and aircraft (MiG 29s, Su-25s, Mi-24s, and Mi-8s) from the Russian 102nd military base in Armenia, and an air assault unit from Tajikistan. The exercise was conducted over four phases, two phases of planning followed by two active phases, and focused on a scenario where a member state is threatened by an outside aggressor. This was the first *Rubezh* exercise not to focus on counter-terrorism and the first to utilize strategic, operational, and tactical levels..¹⁹⁸

Rubezh 2010

Rubezh 2010 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan that took place April 20-26, 2010 at the Chorukh-Dayron training range near the city of Khujand, in northern Tajikistan. The exercise included over 1,000 soldiers (mechanized infantry units from Russia and Kazakhstan, an air assault unit from Tajikistan, and mountain infantry from Kyrgyzstan), and over 150 pieces of equipment and various aircraft (L-39 and An-2 aircraft, and Mi-8 helicopters) from participating members. The exercise was conducted in two phases; the first involved operational planning and the second active phase included a scenario of operating in a border region against a terrorist group, specifically four steps of deploying along the border, identifying and evacuating civilians from the area, blocking off the terrorist group in a mountainous area, and destroying the group..¹⁹⁹

Rubezh 2012

Rubezh 2012 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan as part of the Collective Rapid Deployment Force (CRDF) of the Central Asia Region (CAR) that took place August 6-10, 2012 at the Chebarkul range in the Chelyabinsk Province of Russia. The exercise included over 1,000 soldiers (a motorized rifle battalion from Russia, a mountain rifle company from Kyrgyzstan, and a mountain air assault company from Tajikistan; a group of officers from Kazakhstan also attended), around 100 pieces of equipment (unknown numbers of T-72 tanks, 2C23 «Nona-SVK» 120mm self-propelled artillery, and 2S3 «Akatsiya» 152.4mm self-propelled artillery), and several aircraft (Su-24 bombers, Mi-24 attack helicopters, and Mi-8 transport helicopters). The active phase of the exercise involved a scenario of cutting off and destroying logistics, training camps, and bases of terrorist groups, as well as working on issues of conducting joint operations..²⁰⁰

Rubezh 2014

Rubezh 2014 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan as part of the CRDF CAR that took place July 15-18, 2014 at the Chebarkul range in Russia. The command-staff exercise included an unknown number of personnel and focused on logistical issues of deploying a joint force in response to a regional threat with an emphasis on the Afghan-Tajik border..²⁰¹

Rubezh 2016

Rubezh 2016 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place October 4-7, 2016 at the Edelweiss training facility in Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The CRDF CAR of the CSTO exercise involved around 1000 personnel (including a contingent from the Russian 55th Separate Mountain Motorized Rifle Brigade and Russian air units of the Central Military District and the Kant Airbase, and a special purpose unit from the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry and National Guard as well as 50 personnel from the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Kyrgyzstan) and around 200 aircraft and pieces of equipment (including Tu-22M3 and Su-24 bombers, Su-25 close air support aircraft, Mi-8 transport helicopters, the Orlan 10 unmanned aerial vehicle and the Tiger armored vehicle) in a scenario of combating and eliminating (through a combined arms assault that included bombers flying out of Chelyabinsk, Russia) an armed group that had infiltrated across the border of a member state in mountainous terrain. The exercise scenario also included responding to a terrorist attack on infrastructure and dealing with hazardous (radioactive, chemical) materials.²⁰²

Rubezh 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

“Rubezh 2018 (Frontier 2018)” was listed as one of the exercises in the Combat Brotherhood 2018 series and reportedly took place October 22-27, 2018 at the Kharbmaydon range (Tajikistan) as an exercise of the Collective Operational Reaction Force, but little information appeared in media at the time the exercise took place.²⁰³

Saperler Dostighi-2017

Saperler Dostighi-2017 (Саперлер Достығы, Sapper’s Friendship) was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place August 21-25, 2017 at the Otar military base (40th military base, Zhambul Oblast, Kazakhstan). The exercise included engineer units from both participants (a company from Kazakhstan and a platoon from Kyrgyzstan) and focused on joint manual mine detection (with the use of dogs), demining in a residential area (including jamming signals for radio controlled improvised explosive devices), and ordnance disposal.²⁰⁴

Skala-2018

Skala-2018 (Скала-2018, Rock-2018) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 10-11, 2018 at the Skalniy Gorod facility outside Almaty, Kazakhstan. The CSTO exercise involved personnel from the Emergency Situations Ministries of member states and focused a joint response to an earthquake and related emergency scenarios.²⁰⁵

Security 2009

Security 2009 was a counterterrorism exercise that involved over 500 soldiers from Kyrgyzstan in March/April 2009. While the exercise initially only included Kyrgyzstan’s Ministry of Defense, Russian Su-25 aircraft from the Kant Airbase participated on April 25, 2009.²⁰⁶

Shanti Prayas-2

Shanti Prayas-2 was a joint exercise that involved around two dozen participating states, including Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and the U.S that took place March 25-April 7, 2013 at the Birendra Peace Operations Training Centre in Nepal. The Global Peace Operations Exercise included around 700 personnel and focused on peacekeeping training.²⁰⁷

Shanti Prayas-3

Shanti Prayas-3 was a joint exercise that involved over two dozen participating states, including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and the U.S. that took place March 20-April 3 at the Birendra Peace Operations Training Centre in Nepal. The Global Peace Operations Exercise included around 1000 personnel and focused on peacekeeping training with phases for staff and units in the field.²⁰⁸

Shygys 2011

Shygys 2011 (ШЫҒЫС, East) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place June 20-29, 2011 at the Matybulak, Koktal, and Kyzyl-Agash ranges. The exercise included over 3,000 soldiers (an air assault and air defense units from Kazakhstan, and the 31st Guards air assault brigade and air force units from Russia), over 500 armored vehicles, tanks, and artillery pieces, and 30 aircraft (MiG-31 interceptors, Su-27 and MiG-23 fighters, Su-24 and Tu-22 bombers, and MiG-27 ground-attack aircraft). The exercise, which also included reservists, focused on joint interoperability between regional commands (East, South, and Astana for this exercise) and with Russian forces. A related exercise, «Air Force-2011», took place at the Kyzyl-Agash range with the air forces of both countries participating.²⁰⁹

Shygys 2013

Shygys 2013 (ШЫҒЫС, East) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place October 8-14, 2013 at the Shygys, Koktal, Maylino, and Novo-Akhmirovo ranges. The exercise included an unknown number of soldiers from Kazakhstan and Russia (a group from the Central Military District) in a scenario of coordinating an assault on an enemy force in Kazakhstan's Regional Command "East" with motorized infantry, artillery, airborne, and air defense units participating.²¹⁰

South Antiterror 2001

South Antiterror 2001 was a joint Azerbaijan-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Moldova-Russia-Tajikistan-Ukraine-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place April 24-26, 2001. The exercise included representatives of intelligence and security agencies from participating states as well as the Coordination Service of the Council of Commanders of Border Troops. The exercise scenario involved an armed group crossing into Kyrgyzstan and taking hostages and control of a dam, and ending with a hostage rescue operation.²¹¹

South Antiterror 2002

South Antiterror-2002 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place in three phases; the first April 15-16 in

Kyrgyzstan, the second April 17-18 in Kazakhstan, and the third April 19-20 in Tajikistan. In the first phase participants held a command and staff training for a scenario of an armed incursion by militants. In the second phase special forces units from Kazakhstan's National Security Service (KNB) 'Arystan', and the Ministry of Interior (MVD) 'Berkut' and 'Sunkar' practiced hostage rescue at the Saryshagan training range. In the third phase the scenario involved a group of 600 militants attempted to break through to a U.S. transport plane in Kulyab, Tajikistan. Units from Tajikistan's Ministry of Interior and Armed Forces as well as around 200 soldiers from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, with artillery and air support, conducted an operation to destroy the militant group on the Mumirayu training range near Kulyab.²¹²

Steppe Eagle series

Steppe Eagle (Дала Қыраны) is a joint military exercise held annually in Kazakhstan since 2003 with Kazakhstan, the United States, and the United Kingdom as the main participants.²¹³

- Steppe Eagle 2003 took place at Kapchagai in July 2003 with 500 airborne soldiers from Kazakhstan, elements of KAZBAT, the Scots Guards (U.K.), and U.S. Special Forces. The scenario of the exercise was combating an insurgency in southern Kazakhstan.
- Steppe Eagle 2004 took place in August 2004 at Kapchagai with KAZBAT, Kazakh airborne and air defense units, and the 3rd Motorized Infantry Battalion of the Princess of Wales Regiment (U.K.). The U.S. had limited participation because of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The exercise focused on anti-terrorism and peacekeeping operations.
- Steppe Eagle 2005 took place in September 2005 at Kapchagai and focused on anti-terrorism. Units from Kazakhstan, the U.K. and the Arizona National Guard participated.²¹⁴
- Steppe Eagle 2006 took place in September 2006 and was the first exercise to include NATO, specifically that Steppe Eagle became a part of Kazakhstan's Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). Units from Kazakhstan, the U.K., and the U.S. worked on improving interoperability between Kazakh and NATO units. Military observers from Turkey, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan also attended.²¹⁵
- Steppe Eagle 2007 took place in September with units from Kazakhstan, the U.S., and the U.K. participating.²¹⁶
- Steppe Eagle 2008 took place in September 2008 and was the first time that Kazakh forces were given interoperability status with NATO, although some experts believe the declaration is a few years premature. The 2008 exercise included units from Kazakhstan, the U.S., and the U.K and were held at the Ilysky training grounds north of the city of Almaty.²¹⁷
- Steppe Eagle 2009 took place in September 2009 and included the usual participants (Kazakhstan, the U.S., and the U.K) with an emphasis on developing KAZBRIG.²¹⁸

- Steppe Eagle 2010 took place in August 2010 at the Ilysky range with 1,000 soldiers from Kazakhstan and around 80 from the U.S. and 10 from the U.K. participating. The exercise focused on Kazakhstan's interoperability with NATO forces. Observers from Tajikistan also attended the exercise.²¹⁹
- Steppe Eagle 2011 took place from August 9-19, 2011 at the Ilysky range with around 1,500 soldiers from Kazakhstan, the U.S., the U.K., Lithuania, and Kyrgyzstan. The exercise focused on interoperability in peacekeeping operations.²²⁰
- Steppe Eagle 2012 took place from September 6-21, 2012 at the Ilysky training range with over 1,500 soldiers from Kazakhstan, the U.S., the U.K., and Tajikistan. Kyrgyzstan sent a group of observers. The exercise focused on peacekeeping operations and the continued development of the Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT) into a brigade (KAZBRIG).²²¹
- Steppe Eagle 2013 took place from August 10-23, 2013 at the Ilysky range with a reported 1,680 soldiers participating; 1,500 were from Kazakhstan (one battalion from KAZBRIG), while the other soldiers were from the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Italy, Lithuania, and Switzerland. The exercise focused on joint peacekeeping operations, including delivering humanitarian aid (by air), patrolling (and combating ambushes on patrol), and repelling an attack on a checkpoint.²²²
- Steppe Eagle 2014 took place September 29-October 13, 2014 at the Joint Multinational Readiness Center in Hohenfels, Germany with 150 soldiers from Kazakhstan's Peacekeeping Brigade (headquarters battalion) participating in addition to personnel from the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan (six from the Chief of the General Staff), and Tajikistan. The exercise focused on land navigation, setting up checkpoints, delivering humanitarian aid, IED disposal, and crowd control during a riot.²²³
- Steppe Eagle 2015 took place April 6-17 and June 15-25, 2015 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan in two phases. The first phase (April 2015) focused on peacekeeping operational tasks, including protecting convoys, medical training, riot control, and a counterterrorism operation to rescue hostages. Participants from the U.K. worked at the company level with a Kazakh battalion from KAZBRIG, while the U.S. worked with the battalion's headquarters. The second phase (June 2015) focused on command and staff training with the Joint Conflict and Tactical Simulation (JCAT) program in areas of civil-military affairs, demobilization, disarmament, and reconciliation between combatants and included soldiers from Kazakhstan, the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, France, Nepal, and Turkey.²²⁴
- Steppe Eagle 2016 took place in two phases, the first from April 11-22, 2016 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan. The first phase focused on peacekeeping tactical and operational tasks, including procedures for a battalion headquarters staff, tactical communications, patrolling, establishing checkpoints, demining, riot control, and first aid. The first phase involved around 60 personnel from the U.S. and U.K. and an air

assault company and a battalion headquarters from KAZBAT.²²⁵ The second phase took place July 16-28, 2016 at the Stanford Training Area in the U.K. Around 800 personnel (270 from Kazakhstan, and the rest from the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) took part in Situational Training Exercises that focused on peacekeeping or peace support operations, including civil-military operations, cordon and search, border security, and responding to civil unrest.²²⁶

- Steppe Eagle 2017 (aka Koktem 2017) took place in two phases, the first phase from March 31-April 11, 2017 and the second from July 22-August 4 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan. The first phase involved around 500 personnel from Kazakhstan and 50 from the U.S. and U.K. and focused on peacekeeping tasks, including patrols, establishing roadblocks, riot control, base protection, escorting convoys, demining and first aid. The second phase involved over 700 personnel from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, the U.S. and the U.K. and worked on peacekeeping tasks while being evaluated on NATO's Evaluation Level 1 certification, under the NATO Operational Capabilities Concept.²²⁷

Stikhiya-2013

Stikhiya-2013 (Стихия-2013, Element-2013) was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 9-12, 2013 in the Issyk-Kul Province, Kyrgyzstan. The SCO exercise included around 500 personnel from the Ministry of Emergency Situations of each participant and focused on a scenario of disaster response to flooding around the Issyk Kul Province. China, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, and Mongolia attended as observers.²²⁸

Strong Resolve 2002

Strong Resolve 2002 was a joint exercise of NATO and PfP members, including participants from Uzbekistan, which took place March 1-15, 2002 in two separate but simultaneous operations. One operation took place in Norway and included 14,000 soldiers from participants in a NATO Article 5 scenario, where NATO members defend a member from an attack by a conventional military. Various naval and aircraft were also used in the exercise. The other operation took place in Poland and included 26,000 soldiers in a crisis response scenario where NATO deploys outside its area of responsibility to mediate between two warring nations.²²⁹

Tianshan-I

Tianshan-I was a joint China-Kazakhstan law enforcement exercise that took place from August 24-26, 2006 over two phases, the first in the Almaty region of Kazakhstan and second in the Xinjiang Autonomous region of China. The exercise included 700 soldiers from China's Xinjiang border police and anti-terror special forces, helicopter gunships and armored vehicles, with an unknown number of Kazakh soldiers. The second phase in Xinjiang was a scenario of a battle between border police and terrorists. The exercise was an effort to enhance cooperation between the two countries' law enforcement and security services on the Chinese-Kazakh border.²³⁰

Tianshan-II

Tianshan-II was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan exercise that took place on May 6, 2011 in Kashi (Kashgar) Xinjiang region. The exercise included an unknown number of law enforcement and security personnel from each participant and focused on coordinating efforts to crackdown on terrorists in the border regions.²³¹

Tianshan-3

Tianshan-3, also referred to as Tianshan-3 (2017), was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place June 27, 2017 near the city of Artush (Xinjiang Province), China. The SCO exercise included over 700 personnel from the border guards services of both participants (other SCO members sent observers, including the Executive Committee of the SCO's Regional Antiterrorism Structure, RATS) and unknown numbers of attack helicopters and armored vehicles. The exercise focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate a terrorist group in the Kyrgyz-Chinese border region after a series of terrorist attacks.²³²

Tsentr-2008

Tsentr-2008 (Центр, Center) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 1-27, 2008 at several military facilities in Russia. Kazakhstan participated in the first phase, September 1-5 at the Chebarkul range, near Chelyabinsk, Russia. This phase included around 2,000 soldiers from Russia and 700 from Kazakhstan. In the exercise scenario an enemy penetrated around 60km (around 37 miles) into Kazakhstan. Units from Kazakhstan moved into defensive positions while two Il-76 transport planes dropped a company of paratroopers from Ulyanovsk for an offensive operation, all supported by Russian artillery, Su-24 bombers, and Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters.²³³

Tsentr-2011

Tsentr-2011 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise (conducted through the CSTO) that took place September 19-27, 2011 at several locations simultaneously, at bases in each participant. In Kazakhstan, at the Oymasha range on the Caspian Sea, the exercise included around 3,500 soldiers, 19 aircraft, and over 40 boats from Kazakhstan (specifically an air assault division, and units from the Navy, Interior Ministry, Border Guards, National Security Committee, and the Ministry of Emergency Situations) and Russia conducted air strikes followed by an amphibious assault against an enemy trying to seize oil fields. Near Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan the exercise included a mountain rifle company and a special forces unit from Kyrgyzstan and Russian air units from the Kant Airbase. The scenario involved an operation to eliminate an armed group. At the Lyaur range in Tajikistan the exercise included around 1,000 soldiers from Tajikistan and Russia (specifically tanks, armored personnel carriers, and anti-aircraft units from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division and elements of the 98th Guards Air Assault Division) in a scenario of destroying a group of 150 terrorists trying to seize power. In Russia the exercise took place at the Ashuluk range near Astrakhan and at the Chebarkul range, near Chelyabinsk. It included units from Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine in a scenario of defending against a large combined arms attack. The scenario at Chebarkul involved the 98th Guards Air Assault Division destroying a terrorist group. Units at the 102nd Russian military base in Armenia also conducted a simultaneous exercise.²³⁴

Tsentr-2015

Tsentr-2015 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 14-20, 2015 in multiple locations in Russia (including Astrakhan, Orenburg, Chebarkul, and Altai) and in the Caspian Sea near the city of Aktau, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved 95,000 soldiers (including a number of Russian units and Naval Infantry from Kazakhstan), 7000 pieces of equipment, over 170 aircraft and 20 ships. The exercise scenario focused on eliminating a terrorist group in the Central Asian region.²³⁵

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2012

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2012 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 8-17, 2012 at the Iliskiy, Shoshkala, and Bereg training ranges in Kazakhstan. The exercise included a total of 950 soldiers (535 from Kazakhstan, including the 35th Air Mobile Brigade) and 70 vehicles. The exercise focused on peacekeeping (the first of its kind for the CSTO) tasks in the event of a conflict involving a terrorist or extremist group, or between different ethnic groups in a country in Central Asia. Tasks included delivering humanitarian aid, repelling armed attacks on convoys, protecting vital infrastructure, and riot control.²³⁶

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2013

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2013 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 7-11, 2013 at the Chebarkul range (Chelyabinsk Province, Russia). The CSTO exercise included around 2,500 personnel (units from the Ministry of Defense from participants as well as two units from the Russian Interior Ministry) and unknown number of aircraft (Mi-8 transport and Mi-24 attack helicopters). The exercise focused on a joint peacekeeping operation (in a country with ethnic and religious tension and under threat from separatists), including tasks of setting up checkpoints (Kazakh forces were reportedly inserted by helicopters to rapidly set up checkpoints), protecting convoys (with Mi-24s), combating ambushes, hostage rescue, conducting minesweeping and medevacs, and crowd control during civil unrest. The exercise finished with a nighttime live-fire exercise.²³⁷

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2014

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2014 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place July 29-August 1, 2014 at the Ala-Too range, Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan. The CSTO exercise included 700 personnel (the 15th Guards Separate Motorized Brigade, Central Military District command elements, and an Interior Ministry unit from Russia; a battalion from Kazakhstan consisting of an air assault company, platoons of engineers, medics and sappers, and helicopter and air defense units; a battalion and an Interior Ministry unit from Kyrgyzstan; a battalion from Tajikistan as well as Armenia and Belarus), BTR-70 armored personnel carriers, BMP-2 infantry fighting vehicles, and Mi-17 transport helicopters, and focused on a peacekeeping scenario over three stages. The first stage involved planning and preparation for a peacekeeping mission in CSTO territory, the second stage involved blocking off and destroying an armed group in mountainous terrain, while the third stage involved delivering humanitarian aid, protecting infrastructure, riot control, and hostage rescue.²³⁸

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2015

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2015 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 30-October 4, 2015 at the Bagramyan training center in Armenia. The CSTO exercise included around 600 personnel (100 from the Russian 15th Motorized Rifle Peacekeeping Brigade, a platoon from the peacekeeping company in the Belarusian 103rd Guards Mobile Brigade, in addition to units from other participants) and around 50 pieces of equipment (including transport helicopters) in a peacekeeping scenario carried out in three phases. The first and second phases involved preparation and planning and the third phase involved carrying out various peacekeeping tasks (dividing opposing sides of a conflict and creating a buffer zone, delivering humanitarian supplies, dealing with improvised explosive devices and minefields, setting up checkpoints and patrolling, as well as hostage rescue and eliminating groups of militants, the latter of which was conducted by Russian and Armenian units). Additionally, unmanned aerial vehicles (including the Navodchik-2, Orlan, Zastava, and Granat models) from the Russian 102nd Military Base in Armenia reportedly carried out monitoring of the exercise.²³⁹

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2016

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 23-27, 2016 at the Obuz-Lesnovskiy base in Belarus. The CSTO exercise included around 1500 personnel from participants (personnel came from the Armed Forces, Interior Ministry, and other law enforcement agencies of participating states, including a company from the 103rd Guards Airborne Brigade from Belarus, the *Zubr* Interior Ministry special purpose unit and a National Guard unit from Russia, members of KAZBRIG and the National Guard from Kazakhstan) and 300 aircraft and pieces of equipment (including Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft, Mi-24 and Mi-8 AMTSH attack helicopters, Mi-8 transport helicopters, and BTR-82A armored personnel carriers) in a peacekeeping scenario. The scenario involved the CSTO peacekeeping force receiving a UN mandate and intervening in a state in which two ethnic groups had been clashing over the results of a disputed election and the local government could not maintain control. The exercise also included a tactical portion that established check points and assisted local forces in a hostage rescue situation and delivering humanitarian supplies.²⁴⁰

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 16-20, 2017 at the Ilisky training range, in Kazakhstan. The exercise was the third part of the CSTO series “Combat Brotherhood-2017” and involved around 1,500 personnel, over 100 pieces of equipment (including armored personnel carriers) and over a dozen aircraft (including Su-25s from the Russian Airbase at Kant, various armed, transport helicopters and unmanned aerial vehicles – the Skylark from Kazakhstan). The exercise focused on a joint peacekeeping operation (including tasks monitoring a cease-fire agreement between two sides, delivering humanitarian supplies, dealing with improvised explosive devices, and setting up checkpoints and patrolling) and was divided into several

tactical portions, including working with Emergency Ministries of CSTO member states and the International Red Cross.²⁴¹

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 30-November 2, 2018 at the Sverdlovsk training center (Russian Central Military District). The exercise was the last in the Combat Brotherhood 2018 series and involved around 1300 personnel (a battalion from Russia and an estimated 300 from the other participants), 300 pieces of equipment and 20 aircraft and focused on a scenario of a peacekeeping operation (through a UN resolution and in a non-member CSTO state) of maintaining a ceasefire agreement and various related tasks.²⁴²

Volgograd Anti-terror 2008

Volgograd Anti-terror 2008 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan SCO exercise that took place from August 18-September 4, 2008 in Volgograd, Russia. The exercise included anti-terrorist units of the participants and focused on hostage rescue and neutralizing terrorists in an environmentally hazardous facility. The final part of the exercise took place at the Lukoil refinery in Volgograd, with a simulated hijacking of an oil tanker at the refinery's port on the Volga River.²⁴³

Vostok-Anti-terror 2006

Vostok (East) Anti-terror 2006 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place from March 2-5, 2006 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The exercise was conducted through the Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS-later renamed RCTS) of the SCO. The exercise included an unknown number of soldiers from special forces and law enforcement units. It focused on hostage rescue and protecting infrastructure from terrorist groups, in particular a simulated attack at the Institute of Nuclear Physics at the Uzbek Academy of Sciences which houses a nuclear reactor.²⁴⁴

Vozdushniy Most 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Vozdushniy Most (Air Bridge) 2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 1-14, 2018 near Yekaterinburg, Russia. The CSTO air exercise was the first of its kind and the first in a series of CSTO exercises titled "Combat Brotherhood-2018" (taking place at the same time of the exercise "Poisk-2018") and it involved around 3500 personnel and 620 pieces of equipment (including Il-76, C-295 and An-26 transport planes) in a scenario of transporting a large number of mobile forces.²⁴⁵

Xiamen-2015

Xiamen-2015 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place October 14-16, 2015 in the city of Xiamen (Fujian Province), China. The SCO exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from the security services of participants and

focused on a scenario of countering terrorist groups on the internet (websites, forums and social media) and removing the groups' online presence.²⁴⁶

Yug

Yug (South) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia anti-terrorist exercise that took place October 3-5, 2006 in Osh, Kyrgyzstan. Around 350 soldiers participated (Russia sent a special forces company, two Mi-8 helicopters and unknown number of Su-25 close air-support aircraft, while Kyrgyzstan sent engineering and communication soldiers, two Mi-8 helicopters, and a special purpose infantry company) in a scenario to locate and destroy a terrorist group in mountainous terrain.²⁴⁷

Zaslon-2015

Zaslon-2015 (Barrier-2015) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan exercise that took place July 22 and 24, 2015 in the Batken Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved the Border Guards of Kyrgyzstan (including the special forces unit Boru), the Border Guards of Tajikistan and members of the expert working group of the Russian FSB. The first phase of the exercise on July 22 focused on command and staff coordination between Kyrgyzstan's Border Guard headquarters and a detachment in Batken. The second and active phase of the exercise on July 24 focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate an armed group that had infiltrated across the Kyrgyz-Tajik border in addition to dealing with a large number of civilians crossing the border. The OSCE Centre in Bishkek provided support to the exercise.²⁴⁸

Zhetisu Antiterror 2014

Zhetisu Antiterror 2014 was a joint Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place August 14-22 and September 9, 2014. The first phase of the exercise did not take place at a specific location, but involved a scenario of law enforcement agencies of the Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia (and the Russian State Atomic Energy Corporation "Rosatom") working together to track a group of terrorists traveling from Belarus through Russia and on to Kazakhstan with radioactive materials. The second phase of the exercise included the units "Arystan" and "Boran" from the National Security Committee of Kyrgyzstan and "Kalkan" (Republican Guard), "Sunkar" (Interior Ministry) and "Berkut" (National Guard/Interior Ministry) from Kazakhstan carrying out an operation to eliminate the terrorists at the Kargaly border post, west of Almaty. The operation involved BTR-80 armored personnel carriers conducting an assault while other units were inserted by Mi-8 transport helicopters. Kazakhstan's Ministry of Emergency Situations also participated in the exercise.²⁴⁹

Zhardem (aka Balance Zhardem)

Zhardem was a set of joint Kazakhstan-U.S. exercises held in 1999, 2002, and 2005 at various locations in Kazakhstan. In 1999, the exercise was held from July 14-August 10 in the Shymbulak area near the city of Almaty with 54 soldiers from the U.S. and over 150 from Kazakhstan. The exercise focused on crisis response, humanitarian assistance, refugee management, as well as combat mountain training, artillery raids, and defending a combined arms assault. In 2002, the exercise was held from March 7-22 (estimate) and focused on rescue

and medical preparations in an operational context and mountain warfare. The exercise was reportedly held in 2005, but no information is available on it.²⁵⁰

Untitled Joint Exercises

- ***China-Kyrgyzstan (Artush, Xinjiang, China)***

A joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise took place October 31, 2014 in the city of Artush, Xinjiang Province, China. The exercise involved an unknown number of soldiers from the Border Guards services garrisoned on the Kyrgyz-Chinese border (Naryn Oblast, Kyrgyzstan and the Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang, China as well as the Boru special forces units from the Kyrgyz Border Guards) in a scenario of conducting joint inspections of vehicles in the event of a threat from a terrorist group and carrying out a joint operation to counter the threat.²⁵¹

- ***CIS Joint Air Defense Exercise (Multiple locations)***

A CIS joint air defense command and staff exercise took place October 19, 2004 in multiple locations. The exercise included around 70 aircraft (including Su-27 and MiG-29 fighters, MiG-31 interceptors, Tu-22M bombers, A-50 early warning and control aircraft, and Mi-8 and Ka-26 helicopters), around 1,500 personnel, and S-300, S-125 and S-75 surface-to-air missile systems with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan (the first time that Uzbekistan actively participated in a CIS joint air defense exercise with Su-27s) participating. The exercise worked on strengthening the air space of the CIS.²⁵²

- ***CIS Joint Air Defense Exercise (Multiple locations)***

A CIS joint air defense command and staff exercise took place April 22, 2008 at multiple locations. Over 110 aircraft from Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia (including Su-27 and MiG-29 fighters, MiG-31 interceptors, Su-24, Tu-22M and Tu-95 bombers, A-50 early warning and control aircraft, and Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters) conducted practice operations in the air space of participants, as well as units stationed at the Kant Airbase, Kyrgyzstan.²⁵³

- ***CIS Joint Air Defense Training (Multiple locations)***

A CIS joint air defense training took place October 20-21, 2014 at multiple locations (around 130 command posts) of participants of the air defense system (including Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; Ukraine did not participate). The training included around several thousand service members, 100 aircraft (Su-27, MiG-29, and MiG-31 fighters, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-24 bombers, Tu-22M, Tu-160, and Tu-95 long-range bombers, A-50 early warning and control aircraft, Ka-27 and Mi-8 transport helicopters) as well as various anti-aircraft units (reportedly included S-400, S-300, and Pantsir-S1 surface-to-air missile systems) and focused on a scenario of defending CIS airspace from enemy aircraft and dealing with hijacked aircraft.²⁵⁴

- ***CIS Antiterrorism Exercise (Magov Gorge, Tajikistan)***

The Interior Ministries of Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan held a joint antiterrorism exercise in the Magov Gorge, Tajikistan on April 22, 2006. Around 700 police officers (400 specifically from special-purpose units, from Russia “Rys” and from Belarus ‘Almaz’) participated in a scenario where terrorists entered Tajikistan from neighboring countries, seized an arms depot and took hostages.²⁵⁵

- ***CSTO Arctic Exercise (Arctic Ocean ice floe)***

Paratroopers from Russia, Belarus, and Tajikistan conducted a joint exercise with parachute jump onto an ice floe around 100km from the North Pole on April 7, 2015. The exercise included around 100 paratroopers from units of the CSTO’s CORF (85 from the Russian 98th Guards Airborne Division and the 76th Guards Air Assault Division, 13 from Belarusia and two from Tajikistan) conducting a jump from Il-76 and An-74 transport aircraft that took off from Olenegorsk (Murmansk Oblast) onto an ice floe using the special parachute “Arbalet” (Crossbow) and focused on a scenario of setting up a base camp and conducting search and rescue missions in Arctic conditions.²⁵⁶

- ***CSTO CRDF CAR Exercise (Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Russia)***

A joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place October 19-23, 2015 at the Chebarkul base in Russia. The command and staff exercise of the CSTO’s Collective Rapid Deployment Force for the Central Asian Region (CRDF CAR) involved an unknown number of personnel and focused on a joint counterterrorism operation.²⁵⁷

- ***CSTO CORF Exercise (Kharbmaydon, Khatlon Oblast, Tajikistan)***

A joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place May 12-21, 2015 at the Kharbmaydon range in Tajikistan. The exercise involved around 2500 soldiers (450 from Russia’s 98th Guards Airborne Division and unknown numbers from the Belarusian 103 Guards Airborne Division, the airmobile forces from Kazakhstan, the “Ilbirs” special forces unit from Kyrgyzstan, and the 7th Air Assault Brigade from Tajikistan), around 20 aircraft (including Su-24 reconnaissance aircraft, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-27 fighters, Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters, and Il-76 and An-124 transport aircraft), and a few hundred pieces of equipment (including BTR and BMD armored vehicles, and the Orlan-10 UAV). The exercise tested the combat readiness of the CSTO’s Collective Operation Reaction Force with an order to deploy to the Shahrtuz District (southwestern Tajikistan) in a scenario of combating and repelling an armed group attempting to infiltrate Tajikistan from Afghanistan. The units involved in the exercise traveled to Tajikistan from May 12-14 with Russia providing the bulk of air transports (Kazakhstan provided 3 transport aircraft) to airlift soldiers to the exercise.²⁵⁸

- ***Kyrgyzstan-Russia (multiple locations, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise took place May 26-June 5, 2015 at multiple locations in Kyrgyzstan. The exercise included over 250 personnel (a couple of platoons and supporting units from the Russian 98th Guards Airborne Division and members of “Pantera” from Kyrgyzstan’s National Guard) and various pieces of equipment (including BMD-2 infantry fighting vehicles, Mi-8MTV transport helicopters and the Eleron 3SV

and Orlan 10 unmanned aerial vehicles) and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group in urban and mountainous terrain. Phases of the exercise involved assaults at the Kant Airbase, the Edelweiss training center and in the Tatyr Gorge.²⁵⁹

- ***Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan (Buzhum, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan exercise took place at the Buzhum training camp in the Batken Province in southern Kyrgyzstan from June 17-20, 2011. The exercise included 30 soldiers from Tajikistan's army and a special purpose brigade from Kyrgyzstan. The exercise focused on training to find and destroy illegal armed groups.²⁶⁰

- ***Kyrgyzstan-Turkey (Tatyr Gorge, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint Kyrgyzstan-Turkey exercise took place November 13, 2013 near the Joint Training Center of Kyrgyzstan's Armed Forces outside Bishkek. The counterterrorism exercise included an unknown number of personnel from Turkey and a Kyrgyz Ministry of Defense special forces unit and focused on a scenario of eliminating a group of terrorists in mountainous terrain. The exercise came at the end of 45 days of mountain warfare training.²⁶¹

- ***Kyrgyzstan-U.S. (Sadovoye village, Chui Oblast, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint Kyrgyzstan-U.S. exercise took place on May 16, 2014 at Ministry of Emergency Situations training center near Sadovoye village (Chui Oblast), Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved over 300 personnel with an estimated 40 from the Montana National Guard and 285 from various ministries and units from Kyrgyzstan, including Ministries of Emergency Situations, Defense and Interior, as well as the Border Guards, National Guard and Chief of the General Staff. The exercise focused on responding to a natural disaster, including a hostage rescue situation.²⁶²

- ***Russia-Uzbekistan (Samara, Russia)***

A joint Russia-Uzbekistan exercise took place August 23-27, 2018 in the Samara Oblast, Russia. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and various equipment (including Mi-8 transport helicopters and the Typhoon-K mine-resistant ambush protected vehicles) and focused on a scenario of a special operation (including ambushes and a hostage rescue). The final phase of the exercise included an 80 kilometer march to set up an ambush.²⁶³

- ***SCO Law Enforcement Exercise (Saratov, Russia)***

A joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia took place in Saratov, Russia from August 16-28, 2010. The exercise, conducted through the SCO, included law enforcement agencies from participants and simulated an investigation and operation against a terrorist group in a setting with large numbers of people.²⁶⁴

- ***SCO Counterterrorism Exercise (Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place April 21-25, 2015 at the Tokmok range, Kyrgyzstan. The SCO exercise included an unknown number

of soldiers from special forces units of participating countries and focused on a scenario of combating an armed group in mountainous terrain and rescuing hostages..²⁶⁵

- ***SCO Training Exercise***

A joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia training exercise took place November 28-December 4, 2016 at the Korla training facility, Xinjiang, China. The exercise included an unknown number of personnel (the Russian unit came from the Central Military District) and involved joint training with small arms in mountainous terrain..²⁶⁶

- ***Tajikistan-China Exercise (Vahdat, Tajikistan)***

A joint China-Tajikistan exercise took place on June 6, 2015 at a training facility near Vahdat, Tajikistan. The exercise involved over 100 personnel (over 100 members of a unit from China's Ministry of Public Security, while an unknown number came from a unit in Tajikistan's Interior Ministry) in a scenario of jointly combating a terrorist group in mountainous terrain..²⁶⁷

- ***Tajikistan-France exercises***

France and Tajikistan have conducted joint exercises in 2009, 2011, and 2014. The exercise in 2009 took place at the Fakhrobod training center in Tajikistan from September 22-27 and involved around 50 personnel from the Tajik Ministry of Defense and National Guard as well as several French paratroopers and utilized French aircraft, then operating out of the airport in Dushanbe. The 2011 exercise took place in two phases from May 25 – June 11 with the first phase at Fakhrobod and the second in the Romit Gorge (Vahdat District) and involved 100 personnel (from Tajikistan's Ministry of Defense and France's 27th Mountain Infantry Brigade) and focused on conducting operations in mountainous terrain. The 2014 exercise took place in the Romit Gorge from October 16-26 and involved the (Air) Mobile Forces of Tajikistan and a company of special forces from France and focused on combat operation in mountainous terrain..²⁶⁸

- ***Tajikistan-India (Fakhrobod, Tajikistan)***

India and Tajikistan held a joint military exercise in 2003 (reportedly in February or August) in the Fakhrobod Mountains, around 30 km south of Dushanbe. The anti-terror exercise included an Indian special forces unit and an air assault brigade from Tajikistan..²⁶⁹

- ***Tajikistan-Kazakhstan***

A joint Kazakhstan-Tajikistan exercise took place May 13-17, 2019 at the Fahrabad range, Tajikistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (Kazakhstan's unit came from the Regional Command South) and focused a scenario of a joint counterterrorism operation..²⁷⁰

- ***Tajikistan-Russia***

A joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place on May 21, 2015 in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. The exercise included more than 500 personnel (the Russian contribution came from the 201st Motorized Rifle Division) and around 100 pieces of

equipment (Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters and the unmanned aerial vehicles Granat, Zastava, and Forpost) in a scenario of combating a terrorist group.²⁷¹

- ***Tajikistan-Russia (multiple locations, Tajikistan)***

A joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place March 14-20, 2016 at multiple locations in Tajikistan. The exercise involved 47,000 personnel (15,000 active duty and 30,000 reservists from Tajikistan's armed forces and security services and 2,000 from Russia from the 201st Motorized Rifle Division and air units of the Central Military District), 950 pieces of equipment (tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery), 20 fixed-wing aircraft (Tu-22M3, Tu-95MS and Su-24M bombers, Su-25SM close air-support aircraft), 12 helicopters (Mi-24 attack and Mi-8 transport helicopters) and unmanned aerial vehicles (Zastava variant) in a scenario of combating an armed group that had crossed the border from Afghanistan into Tajikistan through a combined arms assault. The exercise took place in multiple locations along 1000 miles of the Tajik-Afghan border: at the Halkayor base (Khatlon Oblast, on the Tajik-Afghan border) on March 15th, at the Mumirak base (Khatlon Oblast, near the city of Kulob) on March 16th, at the Sumbula base (Khatlon Oblast, just outside the city of Qurgonteppa) from March 16-17, at the Lyaury base (Khatlon Oblast, northwest of Qurgonteppa) on March 17th (Khatlon Oblast), at the Harbmaydon base from March 18-20. While the exercise scenario focused on combating an armed group, specific phases included a mobilization of reservists at Sumbula and paratroopers jumping into mountainous terrain.²⁷²

- ***Tajikistan-Russia (Gorno-Badakhshan)***

A joint Tajikistan-Russia exercise took place July 17-20, 2018 at the Jelondi facility (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise involved an estimated 10,000 personnel (400 from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division and the rest from Tajikistan's Armed Forces) and various equipment and focused on a scenario of eliminating a group of terrorists which had crossed the border from Afghanistan.²⁷³

- ***Tajikistan-China (Gorno-Badakhshan)***

A joint Tajikistan-China exercise took place October 20-24, 2016 in the Ishkashim District (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast) on the Tajik-Afghan border. The exercise included 10,000 personnel from the Armed Forces of China and Tajikistan, various armored personnel carriers and vehicles and focused on a scenario of combating an international terrorist group that had attempted to cross the border from Afghanistan through Tajikistan and into the Xinjiang Province of China.²⁷⁴

- ***Tajikistan-Uzbekistan (Fahrabad range)***

A joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise took place April 25-28, 2019 at the Fahrabad range, Tajikistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (from Tajik and Uzbek scout units) and focused on a joint operation in day and night conditions to eliminate the threat from a terrorist group.²⁷⁵

- ***Uzbekistan-Russia (Forish Range, Uzbekistan)***

A joint Russian-Uzbekistan exercise took place in the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan from September 19-23, 2005. This was the first joint exercise between the two; 400 soldiers (200 special forces from each) participated with the focus of the exercise on destroying a group of terrorists trying to establish a forward base for later incursions.²⁷⁶

Section Two – Central Asian military and security structures

Central Asian military and security structures, military doctrine, and other security cooperation activity

Kazakhstan

Military

Army – strength: 20,000

Air Force – strength: 12,000 (includes Air Defense units)

Navy – strength: 3,000

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 20,000 (estimated)

Border Guards (National Security Committee - KNB) – strength: 9,000 (estimated) and includes maritime border guards at the Caspian Sea detachment

State Security Service of Kazakhstan (formerly the Republican Guard and Presidential Guard) – strength: 2,000-2,500 (estimated)²⁷⁷

National Military Doctrine

Kazakhstan's most recent military doctrine was published September 29, 2017.²⁷⁸

Other Security Cooperation

Excess Defense Articles

Kazakhstan has received various excess defense articles since 2000, including:

- Office furniture and computer equipment (2000)
- 2 UH-1H transport helicopters
- 4 UH-1H transport helicopters²⁷⁹

Kyrgyzstan

Military

Army – strength: 8,500

Air Force – strength: 2,400

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 3,500

National Guard – strength: 1,000

Border Guards (National Security Committee - SNB) – strength: 5,000²⁸⁰

National Military Doctrine

Kyrgyzstan's most recent military doctrine was published in July 2013.²⁸¹

Tajikistan

Military

Army – strength: 7,300

Air Force – strength: 1,500 (includes air defense units)

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 3,800

Ministry for Emergency Situations Security Forces – strength: 2,500

National Guard – strength: 1,200

Border Guards (State Committee for National Security - GKNB) – strength: 1,200 (estimated)²⁸²

National Military Doctrine

Tajikistan's most recent military doctrine was published on October 3, 2005.²⁸³

Turkmenistan

Military

Army – strength: 18,500

Air Force – strength: 3,000

Navy – strength: 500²⁸⁴

National Military Doctrine

Turkmenistan's most recent military doctrine was published in January 2009.²⁸⁵

Other Security Cooperation

Excess Defense Articles

Turkmenistan has received one excess defense article since 2000:

- The Point-class cutter (patrol boat) “Jackson” (2000)²⁸⁶

Uzbekistan

Military

Army – strength: 24,500

Air Force – strength: 7,500

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 19,000

National Guard (Ministry of Defense) – strength: 1,000.²⁸⁷

National Military Doctrine

The Uzbek Parliament first ratified a national military doctrine in 1995, a second version in 2000, and the most recent in 2005.²⁸⁸

Other Security Cooperation

Excess Defense Articles

Uzbekistan has received various excess defense articles since 2000, including:

- Clothing, textiles, hand tools, kitchen equipment, and various individual and mountaineering equipment (2000)
- 309 Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles (2014-2015)
 - 43 (FPI) Cougar Category I, A1 with independent suspension
 - 5 Cougar Category I, A1 without independent suspension
 - 2 Cougar Category I, A2 with independent suspension
 - 159 (Oshkosh) M-ATV UIK2 (underbody improvement kits)
 - 50 (Navistar) MaxxPro Plus
 - 50 (BAE) RG33L Category II
- 20 MaxxPro (MRAP) recovery vehicles (2014-2015).²⁸⁹

Section Three – Terrorist organizations and major incidents of violence and civil unrest in Central Asia since 1991

Terrorist organizations

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) grew out of a movement called *Adolat*, an Uzbek word meaning justice. When small businesses started to develop in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, racketeers demanded protection money from business owners and used former athletes (notably boxers, wrestlers or those who practice martial arts) to act as enforcers and security. One business owner formed a protection group, *Adolat*, in the city of Namangan in Uzbekistan's

Fergana Valley. Tahir Yuldashev, a young underground mullah, emerged as an important leader in *Adolat* alongside Juma Namangani (born Juma Khojaev and sometimes referred to as Jumaboi). Namangani had served in the Soviet Army in Afghanistan during the last years of the war. When Yuldashev became the group's ideologist, *Adolat* took on more religious aspects. New members reportedly swore *bayat* (Islamic oath of loyalty) to the group and its men patrolled Namangan and enforced aspects of *sharia* (Islamic law). Members numbered a few hundred men (higher estimates put the number at a few thousand) and acted outside of city law enforcement and eventually took over portions of that role. In December 1991 *Adolat* occupied the local Communist Party headquarters, which prompted a visit from the then head of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and later President Islam Karimov. In front of a crowd of several hundred people, Yuldashev upstaged Karimov in what became a notable piece of propaganda for *Adolat*, and later the IMU, against the government of Uzbekistan. In 1992 the government of Uzbekistan banned and cracked down on the group's activities. A number of members fled to Tajikistan and some reportedly to Afghanistan.²⁹⁰

Namangani became involved in the Tajik Civil War with Mirzo Ziyoev, an important figure in the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), and eventually commanded a force that had followed him from Uzbekistan, while Yuldashev reportedly traveled to Afghanistan (also, reportedly to Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates) and made contacts with followers of Wahhabism and terrorist groups.²⁹¹ Namangani stayed in the Garm District, Tajikistan, after the Civil War ended and reportedly became involved in drug trafficking. Yuldashev traveled to Tajikistan and met with Namangani in 1997 and together formed the IMU in 1998. They declared a jihad against the governments of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, with their ultimate goal of overthrowing the governments and establishing an Islamic state in the region.²⁹²

On February 16 and 17, 1999, several bombs exploded around the city of Tashkent, Uzbekistan, including one near the Interior Ministry. The bombs killed 16 and injured more than 100 people. The government blamed the IMU for this incident, although there have been conflicting reports of their involvement.²⁹³ On August 9, 1999, IMU militants infiltrated into the Batken Oblast, Kyrgyzstan and took hostages, including the mayor. They demanded a \$1 million ransom and a helicopter to fly to Afghanistan, where Yuldashev had established a relationship with the Taliban. On August 13 the government of Kyrgyzstan granted the militants safe passage out of the country, and reportedly paid a \$50,000 ransom. Uzbekistan responded with air strikes against IMU support bases in the towns of Garm (Rasht Valley) and Tavildara, Tajikistan. More IMU militants infiltrated Batken in the villages of Zardaly and Korgon, and on August 23 they took several hostages, including a major-general from the Interior Ministry and four Japanese citizens. The IMU hoped to exchange the Japanese citizens for ten militants previously convicted of terrorism in Uzbekistan. The government of Uzbekistan refused to negotiate, while the Japanese government sent representatives to try to free the hostages. Most of the hostages, except for the Japanese, were released by the end of August. On October 2-3 a Kyrgyz motorized rifle unit conducted an operation against the militants, while Uzbekistan conducted two air strikes on the villages in Kyrgyzstan. Uzbekistan's air strikes in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, carried out with Su-24 bombers, caused civilian casualties. The IMU counterattacked in the direction of the town of Kyzyl-Kiya, near the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border, but Kyrgyz forces eventually repulsed

them. On October 25 the IMU militants released the Japanese hostages after being paid a ransom estimated between \$2-6 million and went to Afghanistan.²⁹⁴

On August 4-5, 2000, the IMU made simultaneous incursions into the Surkhandarya Viloyat (Province) and near the city of Akhangaran (Tashkent Viloyat), Uzbekistan. Members of the IMU fortified themselves in mountainous areas with previously hidden caches of weapons and clashed with government security forces. The IMU carried out this operation in conjunction with another incursion into the Batken Province. Around two weeks into the incursions, the IMU also infiltrated into the Bostanlyk District (Tashkent Viloyat). The group numbered an estimated 100-200, and split into a few groups in both viloyats. Special forces units from the National Security Committee (SNB), with support from Mi-24 attack helicopters, killed the majority of the IMU militants by August 25. The government of Uzbekistan reported that more than a dozen soldiers were killed in the operations.²⁹⁵

While the incursions into Uzbekistan were taking place, on August 11, 2000, IMU militants crossed into Batken in two groups, one of which almost immediately made contact with Kyrgyzstan's security forces. On August 12 the IMU captured more than a dozen mountain climbers, including four Americans. Within days the militants either released the hostages or allowed them to escape because of poor security. Security forces of Kyrgyzstan managed to disperse the militants into smaller groups from August 11-14. The IMU responded by launching an attack on an outpost on August 25, but failed. Around September 9-11, another group of militants attempted to enter Batken; however, Kyrgyzstan's forces, utilizing Mi-8 helicopters (an armed variant), managed to hold back the assault. The IMU completely withdrew its forces from the area by the end of October, and most members went into northern Afghanistan.²⁹⁶

By 2001 the IMU had a base in Afghanistan, and reportedly maintained one in Tajikistan, and had established a relationship with the Taliban against the Northern Alliance. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan changed some of the dynamic and goals of the IMU. Namangani was killed in November 2001, along with a number of IMU fighters, leaving Yuldashev in command. Sometime in late 2001, early 2002, the IMU moved into South Waziristan, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan where they stayed for several years. They appeared to have broken apart during these years, but the organization regrouped and periodically clashed with Pakistan's Armed Forces. These clashes, in turn, caused a reaction from the local tribes in Waziristan, who had taken the IMU in as guests and bore the brunt of counterattacks from Pakistan's armed forces.²⁹⁷

Sometime in 2002 an unknown number of members allegedly splintered from the IMU and formed the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU). The existence of the IJU has been questioned and its membership is difficult to determine.²⁹⁸ In 2004 a series of terrorist attacks took place in the cities of Bukhara and Tashkent, Uzbekistan. While the IMU reportedly claimed credit for the attacks, the government of Uzbekistan blamed members of Hizb ut-Tahrir.²⁹⁹

From 2002 through 2009 members of the IMU carried out attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan alongside Taliban affiliated groups.³⁰⁰ In August 2009 a strike by an unmanned aerial vehicle killed Yuldashev, though the IMU waited a year before officially announcing his death. The

IMU announced Yuldashev's replacement as Usmon Odil, who had served Yuldashev as a deputy commander, before he was killed in April 2012.³⁰¹ Membership in the IMU following Yuldashev's death has been difficult to determine; however, the IMU's lists of martyrs has been one way to gauge how membership in the organization changed. The list of martyrs from 2009 (listed as the Islamic year 1430) was a mix of ages and ethnicities, though most came from post-Soviet Central Asian states. The list of martyrs from 2010 (1431) is similar. The list of martyrs from 2011 (1432) showed a large number of fighters from the northern provinces of Afghanistan and even less from Central Asia.³⁰² Propaganda articles and videos on the website also suggested that IMU has been recruiting fewer members from post-Soviet Central Asian states and that the group became increasingly involved in the goals of other groups in the region.³⁰³

Additionally, the IMU's former website, *Furqon*, included the organization's goals as late as February 2011; however, following the deaths of Yuldashev and Odil, the goals listed bringing back a caliphate and the need to be a devout Muslim and nothing about overthrowing the government of Uzbekistan or combating coalition forces in Afghanistan. A version of the website in 2012 did not have any goals listed.³⁰⁴

After the death of Usmon Odil in 2012, Usman Ghozi became the leader of the IMU. There has been little information on Ghozi's background, other than he allegedly had a criminal record. In October 2014 the IMU made a statement swearing allegiance to the Islamic State following disputes with the Taliban and other affiliated groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In late 2015 Ghozi and several dozen IMU members were reportedly killed in the Zabul Province, Afghanistan after clashing with the Taliban.³⁰⁵ Since then, the IMU reportedly continues to operate in Afghanistan, but it has kept a low profile (the *Furqon* website has been offline for several years) and its membership is difficult to determine and likely does not include many from post-Soviet, Central Asian countries.

Kazakhstan

Aqtobe – May 17, 2011

On May 17, Rakhimzhan Makhatov, a 25 year old resident of the city of Aqtobe, blew himself up and wounded three people at the entrance of the provincial headquarters of the KNB. The bomber had connections with an Islamic terrorist group and the attack was an act of revenge (or protest) against the treatment of Islamic extremists in prison. Followers of Wahhabism in Kazakhstan's prisons were reportedly tortured.³⁰⁶

Astana – May 24, 2011

On May 24, a car blew up outside a KNB detention center in Astana, killing two men inside the vehicle. The blast caused damage to surrounding buildings, but there were no additional deaths or injuries. The two men were identified as Dmitry Kelpier (the owner of the car) and Ivan Cheremukhin, both from the Pavlodar Province. However, Cheremukhin's passport had been

stolen and was found at the scene. Kazakhstan's Interior Ministry later said that the second dead man was Sergei Podkosov, a 34-year-old from the city of Pavlodar.³⁰⁷ Podkosov had a criminal record and had converted to Islam a few years earlier.³⁰⁸

On May 18, Kazakhstan's Majilis (the lower house of parliament) ratified a law to send four soldiers in non-combat positions to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.³⁰⁹ The law came from an earlier agreement with NATO. On May 22, the Taliban issued a warning to Kazakhstan that a decision to send soldiers to Afghanistan would have consequences.³¹⁰ The timing of the warning and the explosion led to speculation that the Taliban were somehow involved. On June 9, Kazakhstan's Senate (upper house of parliament) rejected the law committing the country to the deployment.³¹¹ While this might appear to be Kazakhstan's government yielding to the threat, there was strong opposition to the deployment from veterans groups (of the Soviet war in Afghanistan) and the public.³¹²

Shubarshy – June 30, 2011

On the night of June 30 and early morning of July 1, an unknown number of assailants shot two police officers in the village of Shubarshy, in the Aqtöbe Province. The police identified six suspects (all men between the ages of 22-43; Kuanysh Alimbetov, Akylbek Mambetov, Toktarbek Mambetov, Bektemir Urazov, Miras Karazhanov, and Aybek Dzhumagazin) and offered a reward of 100,000 dollars for information that led to their capture. The men were armed with a Makarov pistol and a Saiga variant rifle. The Interior Ministry launched an operation with special forces units (which included *Sunkar* and *Berkut*) to find the men. The operation on July 2-3 resulted in the death of one officer and three soldiers wounded without the suspects being apprehended. Around this time a unit from the KNB, *Arlan*, became involved in the search. These units conducted another operation near the village of Kenkiyak (not far from Shubarshy) on July 8, killing nine and capturing two suspects and seizing 20 weapons. A soldier from one of the special forces units was also killed in the operation.³¹³

Previously, on June 28, two policemen arrested 22-year-old Talgat Shakanov for having unregistered weapons and radical religious literature in the trunk of his car. Friends of Shakanov retaliated by shooting the two policemen and then fled to a reported weapons cache near the village of Kenkiyak. The Aqtöbe Province administration acted alone in the July 2-3 operation without notifying the Interior Ministry. Special forces from the Interior Ministry became involved in the search, which included Mi-8 helicopters. At some point a few other associates from Shubarshy joined the six suspects in hiding.³¹⁴ The two policemen killed in Shubarshy were apparently unarmed.³¹⁵

Atyrau – October 31, 2011

On October 31, two bombs exploded in the city of Atyrau, killing the bomber and damaging a nearby regional government office and an apartment building. The first bomb was placed in a garbage can near the Atyrau provincial government office and blew out several windows of the building. The second bomb killed its handler, in what appeared to be a suicide bombing, and damaged an apartment building next to the provincial prosecutor's office. Broken glass from the explosions caused some minor injuries.³¹⁶ A terrorist group called *Jund al-Khilafah* (Soldiers of the Caliphate) claimed responsibility for the bombings. A week earlier the group had released a

video warning to the government of Kazakhstan that the government must repeal a recently-passed law on religion or face losses. The government passed a law on October 13 that banned prayer in state buildings and unregistered religious activity in the country, as well as requiring previously registered religious groups to reregister. Soldiers of the Caliphate stated that the bombs were just a warning and that the second bomb detonated prematurely; it was not intended to be a suicide bombing.³¹⁷ The authenticity of the Soldiers of the Caliphate video threat and the group's existence could not be confirmed.³¹⁸

Almaty – November 8, 2011

On November 8, an unidentified man shot and killed two policemen as they were stopping vehicles on a patrol in the Auezov district of Almaty. Police saw the suspect and another man loading a large item into a car. The police followed and cut off the car, forcing it to stop. As the police approached the stopped car, one of the men fired five times at the police, killing both. Almaty police arrested the owner and driver of the car on November 12, and three other suspects on November 15. Police found two Makarov pistols, a Kalashnikov assault rifle, and ammunition at the residence of the three suspects.³¹⁹

Taraz – November 12, 2011

On November 12, Maksat Kariev killed seven people in a series of attacks across the city of Taraz, Zhambyl Province (southern Kazakhstan). The first shooting took place in a hunting store, where Kariev shot two men, an employee and a bystander, and stole a few weapons. Kariev used a stolen car to go back to his home, where he shot two members of the Zhambyl KNB who had been following him. Then he shot two nearby policemen, took their weapons, and made his way to the center of the city. There he fired a shot from a rocket-propelled grenade launcher (RPG-26) into a window of the national security building. Kariev then battled with police a few blocks from the city center. He shot and wounded two policemen who were patrolling on horseback. When Kariev tried to throw a grenade, a police captain knocked him to ground, but the explosion killed both men.³²⁰ It was later revealed that Kariev had served in the military.³²¹

Boralday – December 3, 2011

On December 3 in the village of Boralday, on the northwest edge of Almaty, *Arystan* (a special forces unit of the KNB) carried out an operation to apprehend several men with links to the men involved in the shooting in Almaty on November 8. The operation took place late at night on the third.³²² Members of *Arystan* surrounded the house where the men were staying and evacuated civilians from nearby houses. During the assault on the house the men inside resisted and killed two officers. Members of the unit used grenades and sniper fire (the walls of part of the house was supposedly made of adobe) to eliminate the group. All five men inside the house were killed. They were armed with two Kalashnikov assault rifles, two Makarov pistols, and a few RGD-5 grenades.³²³

Zhanaozen and Shetpe – December 16-17, 2011

On December 16 a large crowd clashed with police in the central square of Zhanaozen (Mangystau Province) during a concert for Kazakhstan's Independence Day. Some of the crowd

drove the police from the square and then looted and burned nearby buildings, including the mayor's office and the headquarters of OzenMunayGaz. A unit from the Interior Ministry or provincial police eventually used force to restore order. More than a dozen people were killed and dozens injured.³²⁴ Prior to the incident the square had been the site of a strike of oil workers from OzenMunayGaz (Ozen Oil and Gas) and other local oil companies over wages and problems with the union representative. These companies are partially or majority owned by the national oil and gas company, KazMunayGaz.³²⁵ A crowd in the village of Shetpe, also in Mangystau, blocked a passenger train and reportedly burned a locomotive on December 18.³²⁶

Within a few weeks of the incident a number of videos of it were posted on *YouTube*. These showed the viewpoint of police and civilian eyewitnesses. Two videos, “Беспорядки в Жанаозене” (“Disorder in Zhanaozen”) and “Жанаозен. Как все начиналось” (“Zhanaozen. How It All Started”), show the beginning of the incident on the square.³²⁷ Police were like the source of both videos; a policeman grabbed from behind by a man in the crowd at the 2:18 mark (from “Disorder in Zhanaozen”), can be seen in the other video (“Zhanaozen. How It All Started”) at 0:05-0:17. The man told the policeman “Stop Filming.” The camera operator for the second video fled from the crowd as it overwhelmed the barriers by the stage, suggesting it was also made by a policeman. A video titled “Без комментариев. Беспорядки Жанаозен 16.12.2011 / kplustv” (“No commentary. Zhanaozen Disorder 16.12.2011 / from kplustv – an independent TV station based in Moscow”) picks up the incident after the crowd forced police to withdraw.³²⁸ From 2:37-2:47 police try to stay in the square, but are chased off by men carrying sticks. A woman is shouting, “The square is ours” at 3:15. From 4:00-4:38 the police completely withdraw from the square (at 4:16 a few people threw rocks at police) and the rest of the video shows the destruction that took place in the square. Another video, titled “Жанаозен документальное видео беспорядков 16.12.2011” (“Zhanaozen documentary video of disorder 16.12.2011”), shows the destruction, specifically the mayor's office on fire, north of the square.³²⁹

A widely distributed and viewed video, titled “Жанаозен Расстрел бастующих 16.12.2011 (жана озен 3)” (“Zhanaozen the Shooting of Protesters, or Zhana Ozen 3”), shows the Interior Ministry unit response from the window of an apartment building overlooking the square.³³⁰ The video shows a number of people in the square and a few people throwing rocks at the 0:10-0:14 mark. Shots can be heard around the 0:14 mark and then throughout the video. At the 0:48 mark a few people have been shot in the legs; one was possibly killed or went into shock from his injury. At the 1:15-1:18 mark a plainclothes policeman in the center of the frame is aiming a pistol. From 1:18-1:26 a man in the center of the frame is walking with a camera in his right hand. Video footage from this camera appears in another video. The man is likely a government official or a plainclothes policeman.

A video titled “Жанаозен. Видео расстрела безоружных людей” (“Zhanaozen. Video of the shooting of unarmed people”) shows the footage from the camera of the man seen in the video Zhana Ozen 3.³³¹ The unit in the video was armed with riot shields and batons, while a few carried Kalashnikov rifles (visible at about the 0:35 mark). Starting from 0:04 and throughout the video, gunfire is heard, although it is not until around the 2:14 mark that police fired on the main crowd in a concerted effort. Some police possibly shot people before this along the sides of the street. However, footage from 0:39-2:13 shows that several people remained on the street on both sides of the police

column as it moved to the square. While the main crowd moved away from the column during this time, people do not appear to run away until the 2:14 mark. From 3:40-3:54 the crowd, emboldened, can be heard shouting while police scramble to reform a defensive line. A number of shots are heard as the crowd shouts. A video titled “Вид на стрельбу в Жанаозене с крыши” (“View of the shooting in Zhanaozen from the roof”) shows the Interior Ministry unit from a different angle.³³² Shot from the roof of an apartment building, it shows the column marching in from northeast of the square. At the 0:51 mark there is a muzzle flash from the weapon of the policeman at the front-left side of the column. Plainclothes police on the left side of the column appear to be waving off bystanders from 1:06 -1:11. However, they take aim at people from 1:14-1:21, but it is difficult to determine if they fired their weapons or aimed them as a threat.

Almaty – July 11, 2012

On the night of July 11 an explosion occurred at a house in the village of Tausamaly (on the edge of Almaty); the bodies of several people (including children) were found inside. Neighbors who live near the house reported seeing a few people fleeing after the explosion. Authorities later reported finding weapons (including an AKS-74U and a few pistols), bomb making materials, police equipment (radios, traffic batons), various police and security services uniforms, and religious literature. It was suspected that explosion took place while someone in the house was making a bomb.³³³

Almaty – July 30, 2012

On the morning of July 30 members of “Sunkar” (Interior Ministry special forces unit) and Almaty police conducted an operation in a western district of the city to apprehend several men who had killed two police officers on July 28. Police surrounded and evacuated an apartment building where the men were hiding; however, the men refused to surrender. At around noon members of Sunkar assaulted the apartment and killed six men; the operation last a few hours and there were no other casualties reported. Police found two Kalashnikov assault rifles, a few pistols, a shotgun, and a large amount of ammunition. The men killed were not believed to have belonged to an extremist group; some of them had been in prison together for various offenses.³³⁴

Karasay District – August 17, 2012

On the morning of August 17 a police rapid response unit conducted an operation in the Karasay District (Almaty Province, southwest of the city of Almaty) to apprehend a group of criminals reportedly linked to the explosion that took place in Tausamaly on July 11. Police cordoned off and evacuated the area around the house that the suspects were in. The government reported that the suspects opened fire, wounding a member of the unit, before police assaulted the house. Nine people in the house were killed, one of which may have been a minor.³³⁵

Atyrau Province – September 5-21, 2012

On September 5 a bomb exploded in a house in the city of Atyrau. The explosion killed one man who had been making improvised explosive devices.³³⁶ On the morning of September 12 police and members of the National Security Committee (KNB) conducted an operation in an apartment building in the city of Kulsary (Atyrau Province) to apprehend a group of men wanted in

connection with the explosion in Atyrau. Four other men had been arrested on September 7 in connection with the explosion, which reportedly led police to the group in the apartment building. Prior to the operation, police evacuated the surrounding apartments. The men in the apartment refused to surrender and during the subsequent clash with security forces, five of the men were killed and one wounded; one member of the assault force was also wounded and there were no civilian casualties. Later in the day two other suspects were arrested in an apartment building near the site of the operation..³³⁷

Just before midnight on September 14 two men attacked a police post in the Isataya-Mamambeta square in Atyrau. The two men wounded a policeman with shotgun blasts but fled when the policeman returned fire. Around twenty minutes later several men attacked the headquarters of the Interior Ministry in Atyrau; the men fired and threw Molotov cocktails at the guards at the building's gate. The men entered the building and fired at members of the ministry on duty, wounding one. The men then fled in a car after one of the guards returned fire and escaped before other ministry units (who had gone to the square) were able to return..³³⁸

On the morning of September 21 police and Interior Ministry forces conducted an operation on the edge of Atyrau to apprehend the men who carried out the attack on September 14-15. Police first cordoned off the area around the house and evacuated nearby residents. When the men inside the house refused to surrender and fired on police, members of the Interior Ministry (Berkut) unit assaulted the house (with a BTR) and killed four; there were no other casualties reported..³³⁹

Aqtobe – June 5-11, 2016

On the afternoon of June 5, a group of men carried out an attack on two gun stores and a military facility in the city of Aqtobe that left around two dozen people dead and several suspects arrested. The attack started when 26 men entered the *Pallada* gun store in central Aqtobe and stole 17 weapons (3 rifles and 14 shotguns) and ammunition and stabbed a store clerk to death and wounded a bystander. One of the store employees reportedly locked herself in a backroom and triggered an alarm. The group exchanged fire with two members of a security company who had arrived at the store, killing one and wounding the other. The men also wounded three policemen and killed a bystander in his vehicle on the street. The group then split into two, with one group of six men driving to *Pantera*, another gun store in the center of the city, while the others drove a stolen bus to a National Guard facility. The first group clashed with police at *Pantera*, which resulted in four dead (three members of the group and one bystander) and two wounded (a bystander and a group member), while two members of the group escaped. The group that attacked the National Guard facility rammed the gate open with the bus and clashed with members of the unit and police; three National Guard soldiers were killed and six wounded, while one group member was killed and one wounded and the rest fled the scene..³⁴⁰

Government security forces carried out an operation early in the morning on June 6 just outside the central part of the city and killed five and arrested two members of the group. Later in the day security forces wounded and captured three men, one of which died in the hospital. Also on June 6, the government released the names and photographs of the suspects still at large, though the list mistakenly identified a man was not involved in the attacks..³⁴¹ On June 8 the government

offered a reward of five million Tenge (around \$15,000) for information leading to the capture of the remaining fugitives.³⁴² Early in the morning on June 10 security forces from the KNB carried out an operation in an apartment building in the same district as the *Pantera* gun store is located and eliminated five members of the group.³⁴³ On June 11 security forces claimed that the remaining fugitives involved in the attack were arrested.³⁴⁴ The government claimed that the men involved in the incident had been in contact with an imam from Syria, who instructed them to carry out the attack. The government also claimed that the original group of men included 45, but some of them refused to participate in the attacks. Other reports noted local conditions that contributed to the incident, including radicalization in the prison system; several of the men involved in the attack had been in prison for various crimes.³⁴⁵

Almaty – July 18, 2016

On July 18 a man carried out a series of attacks on a police station and a National Security Committee (KNB) building in Almaty, killing five and wounding several people. The man, later identified as Ruslan Kulekbaev, opened fire on a police station in central Almaty on the morning of July 18, killing a policeman who had been standing at a guard post. He then fled the scene in a stolen car and soon after killed two policemen who had been pursuing him. Reports emerged that Kulekbaev moved quickly around the center of the city during the series of attacks, which also included the KNB building, where he killed a member of the Border Guards service. He stole a car after each shooting and forced a bystander to drive him to a couple of the locations; he also killed the driver of one car while attempting to steal it. It is estimated that his attack took a little over 20 minutes after multiple exchanges of fire with police before he was wounded and arrested. Three policemen injured during the attack later died of their wounds. Prior to the attack, Kulekbaev had a criminal record that included charges of robbery, illegal possession of a firearm, and he is suspected of murdering a woman outside a hotel the night before the attack. It is alleged that the suspect carried out the attacks because of his ties with extremist religious groups and that he may have been influenced by extremist ideology during his time in prison.³⁴⁶

Kyrgyzstan

Batken Province (formerly Osh Province) – August 9-October 25, 1999

On August 9, 21 members of the IMU infiltrated into the Batken region (now Province) from Tajikistan and took four hostages in village, including the mayor, and demanded a \$1 million ransom and a helicopter to fly to Afghanistan, where IMU co-founder Tohir Yuldashev had set up a support base. On August 13 the government of Kyrgyzstan granted the militants safe passage out of the country, and reportedly paid a \$50,000 ransom, although it may have conducted negotiations through unofficial channels. Uzbekistan responded with air strikes against IMU support bases in the towns of Garm and Tavildara, Tajikistan. More IMU militants infiltrated Batken (in the villages Zardaly and Korgon) and on August 23 took several hostages, including a Major-General from the Interior Ministry and four Japanese citizens. The IMU hoped to exchange the Japanese citizens for 10 militants previously convicted of terrorism in Uzbekistan. The government of Uzbekistan refused to negotiate, while the Japanese government sent representatives to try to free the hostages. Most of the hostages, except for the Japanese,

were released by the end of August. On October 2-3 Kyrgyzstan conducted an operation against the militants with a motorized rifle unit, while Uzbekistan conducted air strikes on the villages in Kyrgyzstan. Both air strikes (carried out with Su-24 bombers) caused civilian casualties in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The IMU counterattacked in the direction of the town of Kyzyl-Kiya, near the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border before being repulsed. On October 25 the IMU militants released the Japanese hostages, after being paid a ransom estimated at \$2-6 million, and went to Afghanistan.³⁴⁷

Batken Province – August 11-October (unknown date), 2000

On August 11 a group of IMU militants crossed into the Batken Province in two groups, one of which almost immediately made contact with Kyrgyzstan's security forces. The IMU carried out this operation in conjunction with the incursion into Uzbekistan on August 5 (see entry below). On August 12 militants captured over a dozen mountain climbers, including four Americans. Within days the militants either released the hostages or allowed them to escape because of poor security. Security forces of Kyrgyzstan managed to disperse the militants into smaller groups from August 11-14. The IMU responded by launching an attack on an outpost on August 25, but failed. It was estimated that the IMU held several hundred militants in reserve in Tajikistan, just across the border from Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, during the initial incursion. Around September 9-11, another group of militants attempted to enter Batken, however Kyrgyzstan's forces, utilizing Mi-8 helicopters (an armed variant), managed to hold back the assault. The IMU completely withdrew its forces from the area by the end of October.³⁴⁸

Tulip Revolution – March 2005

In response to parliamentary elections that took place on February 27 (with a second round on March 13), protests took place in several parts of the country, particularly in the southern regions. The crowds at protests between rounds of the election ranged in size from a few hundred to over a thousand people. Only one major incident of violence occurred, when someone threw a grenade onto the balcony of opposition party leader (of the Ata Zhurt party) Roza Otunbayeva on March 3. The suspect threw a RGD-5 grenade; no was home at the time of the incident. On March 9, protestors gathered and called for the resignation of President Askar Akayev.³⁴⁹

On March 15, opposition party leaders Otunbayeva and Kurmanbek Bakiyev led a "kurultai" (a kurultai is a meeting of elders and leaders in Kyrgyzstan) in the central square in Jalal-Abad with several thousand people in attendance. The city of Jalal-Abad deployed extra police, but did not prevent the kurultai from taking place. Also, Kyrgyzstan's Interior Ministry confirmed that the governor of the Talas Province and the head of the Bakay-Ata District in the Talas Province were taken hostage by supporters of a parliamentary candidate who lost in the election. The police did not intervene or attempt to release the governors. On March 16, a group of protestors seized the district administrative building in the Bazar-Kurgan District (of the Jalal-Abad Province) and took captive two district administrators. Police freed the administrators later in the evening. The Bazar-Kurgan is the same district where Kurmanbek Bakiyev lost the March 13 run-off parliamentary election.³⁵⁰

On March 20, security forces (OMON) from the Interior Ministry stormed and retook administrative buildings in the cities of Osh and Jalal-Abad. These buildings had been occupied by opposition supporters for two days. Prime Minister Nikolay Tanayev confirmed that opposition protestors seized the mayor's office and the airport in Jalal-Abad; people threw stones and burned tires on the runway to prevent reinforcement from arriving by plane from Bishkek. Protestors also seized and burned a police station. The government promised not to use weapons against protestors, preferring to negotiate. From March 21-23 protests continued in southern Kyrgyzstan as crowds seized a number of government buildings, including police stations, the offices of the security services, and the Osh airport. Some clashes with police took place with a few casualties.³⁵¹

On March 24, protestors gathered in front of the "White House" (presidential administration building) and briefly clashed with police, before taking control of the building. President Akayev left the capital as the opposition took over other government ministries. Akayev eventually flew to Moscow and resigned as president on April 4.³⁵²

Revolution in Kyrgyzstan: Talas, Bishkek, and Jalal-Abad – April 6-16, 2010

On April 6 a group of protestors gathered in the city of Talas (Talas Province) to protest the detention of opposition leader Bolot Sherniyazov (the deputy head of Ata-Meken), who was later released. Sherniyazov had planned to hold a protest on April 7 against the government. The crowd took control of the provincial administration building but later lost it to Interior Ministry soldiers. The crowd in Talas also attempted to seize the police station, but failed due to the intervention of Interior Ministry soldiers.³⁵³

On April 7 police detain several opposition leaders including Temir Sariyev (leader of the Ak-Shumkar party), Omurbek Tekebayev (leader of Ata-Meken), and Almazbek Atambayev (leader of the Social Democratic Party). Interior Minister Moldomusa Kongatyiyeu flew to Talas to try to contain the situation in Talas, but a crowd of people captured and severely beat him in addition to taking over the administration building in the city. During the day protestors in the city of Naryn also seized the provincial administration building.³⁵⁴ Several opposition leaders were then released, including Temir Sariyev and Omurbek Tekebayev. Tekebayev then joined up with his supporters near the government building. In Bishkek a crowd gathered in the Ala-Too square (in front of the "White House") and made several attempts to break down the gate. President Kurmanbek Bakiyev imposes a state of emergency that gives more power to police and security officials to maintain order. Police use tear gas and rubber bullets to drive protestors away. Government security forces fired on the crowd, but are eventually overwhelmed as people burn and loot the White House. Bakiyev then fled the capital while Prime Minister Daniyar Usenov resigned his post. An interim government, led by opposition member Roza Otunbayeva, took over on April 7. Over 80 people were killed and hundreds injured.³⁵⁵

Bakiyev fled to his support-base in southern Kyrgyzstan and stayed in the city of Jalal-Abad, refusing to resign and trying to rally enough support to return to power, although he also acknowledged that he had little control over the state of affairs of Kyrgyzstan. He remained in Kyrgyzstan until April 15, when he flew to Belarus (where he currently resides) via Kazakhstan. He officially resigned on April 16.³⁵⁶

While the revolution (unofficially called the ‘Roza Revolution’) took place in only a few days, there were events prior to April 6 that led to the revolt. Since the 2005 Tulip Revolution, many members of the opposition government and the general population became disillusioned and frustrated with Bakiyev and his government. Opposition member and former defense minister Ismail Isakov was sentenced to eight years in prison on January 11 for corruption, though many understood the charges to be politically motivated. The government cracked down and seized independent media in the country, in addition to hindering internet access, in the months just before April. On April 1, the Russian government introduced a 100 percent customs duty on oil exports to Kyrgyzstan. The Russian government had been at odds with Bakiyev over previous loans among other issues. The new customs duty led to higher utility prices in Kyrgyzstan, which put a strain on an already weak economic situation among the population.³⁵⁷

Batken, Jalal-Abad, and Osh – May 13-14 and 19, 2010

On May 13, in the cities of Batken, Jalal-Abad, and Osh, supporters of ex-president Bakiyev took over the main government administration buildings (some regional governors who were in power under Bakiyev lost their positions following the April revolution). The regional administration building in Batken went back under control of the interim government by the end of the day. On May 14, government security forces retook the administration building in Osh. Security forces also retake the building in Jalal-Abad, but clashed with crowd, resulting in at least one death (possibly several) and dozens injured. In a village outside Jalal-Abad, unidentified young men burn the house of ousted president Bakiyev. Two of his brothers and another relative’s houses are also burned. On May 19, in the city of Jalal-Abad, a clash between ethnic Kyrgyz and Uzbeks took place; an estimated 1,200 Kyrgyz and over 2,000 Uzbeks are involved. The clash took place near the People’s Friendship University. Government security forces around the university fired warning shots, but these failed to disperse the crowd. Kyrgyz accused Kadyrjan Batyrov (a former parliament member, prominent Uzbek businessman and founder of the university), of dramatizing ethnic issues, assisting the interim government in retaking the administrative buildings from Bakiyev supporters (on May 14), and being involved in the burning of Bakiyev’s relatives’ homes. At least two people were killed and dozens injured.³⁵⁸

Southern Kyrgyzstan (Osh and Jalalabad Provinces) – June 9-16, 2010

Overnight on June 9-10, a fight broke out between Kyrgyz and Uzbek youth at a casino near the city of Osh. The fight turned increasingly violent and destructive and spread across the Osh Province and into the city and province of Jalal-Abad within days.³⁵⁹ The level of violence overwhelmed government security forces. There were dozens of reported murders and rapes, and groups of people looted and destroyed businesses and homes in various cities, towns, and neighborhoods across the two provinces.³⁶⁰ The groups that fought each other were mainly drawn along ethnic lines of Uzbeks and Kyrgyz. Certain groups targeted security forces; in one incident they hijacked an armored personnel carrier and disarmed the crew. The government confirmed the hijacking and other reports of armed groups.³⁶¹

The Kyrgyz government asked former law-enforcement officers for assistance in securing Osh. They called on former officers from the Defense Ministry, the Interior Ministry, security

services, and even veterans from Afghanistan, regardless of political views for help.³⁶² Uzbekistan sent special units of border troops to secure the Kyrgyz border.³⁶³ Tens of thousands of Uzbek refugees crossed into Uzbekistan.³⁶⁴ On June 12, the government launched a special operation in the eastern part of the city of Osh to restore order, imposed curfews in Osh and Jalal-Abad, and even issued a shoot-to-kill order to police to stop law breakers.³⁶⁵ On June 13, a large crowd gathered in Jalal-Abad and demanded that ethnic Uzbeks be moved out of the city and region.³⁶⁶ On June 15, Uzbekistan closed its border with Kyrgyzstan as it was not able to accommodate additional refugees.³⁶⁷ The government finally contained the violence by June 16 in Osh and in Jalal-Abad. Only sporadic incidents in the two provinces were reported after this.³⁶⁸ The final death toll reported over 400 killed from the Osh and Jalalabad Provinces; a human rights group in Kyrgyzstan compiled a list that is periodically updated.³⁶⁹ Some estimates double that number, since many of the deaths went unreported.³⁷⁰

Charbak (Batken Province)-Sokh enclave – January 5-7, 2013

Sometime on the evening of January 5, 2013 in Uzbekistan's Sokh enclave (in the Batken Province, Kyrgyzstan), residents of Khushyar (a village in Sokh) became angry when several poles were erected to supply electricity to a border post near the village of Charbak (Kyrgyzstan). Residents confronted the Kyrgyz Border Guards at the post and claimed that the poles were erected on the wrong side of the border. Residents then reportedly assaulted the guards, who fired warning shots into the air to disperse the crowd. Four people in the crowd were injured. Residents returned to the border post in larger numbers (sometime on January 5 or 6) and started destroying the poles and other property, and assaulting residents of Charbak. The villagers of Khushyar then crossed the border into Charbak and kidnapped over a dozen people, taking them back to Khushyar as hostages. Other Kyrgyz citizens were kidnapped while they were traveling through Sokh in vehicles; Sokh residents destroyed these and other vehicles near Charbak. Additionally, a Kyrgyz policeman was injured while attempting to stop Sokh residents. Some Kyrgyz (from Charbak or another village) took several hostages from Sokh in retaliation. Late in the day on January 7 Kyrgyz and Uzbek authorities negotiated the release of the hostages. Uzbek authorities also paid compensation to residents of Charbak for property damaged during the conflict. The border was closed for a few weeks following the conflict.³⁷¹

Ak-Sai (Batken Province)-Vorukh enclave (Tajikistan) – April 27, 2013

On April 27, 2013 residents of Ak-Sai (a village in Batken Province, Kyrgyzstan) and Tajikistan's Vorukh enclave clashed over a dispute on the construction of a road near the Kyrgyz-Tajik border; residents of Vorukh have claimed that construction was taking place on Tajik territory. Construction of the road (which would allow passage to the village of Ak-Sai outside of Tajik territory) had been on hold for several days because of the dispute, and then resumed on the morning of April 27 and started the clash. During the clash, an estimated 30-50 people took part, which resulted in damage to construction equipment, several injuries (including to policemen attempting to intervene) and over a dozen people from Tajikistan were reportedly temporarily taken hostage. Additionally, people on both sides of the border set up road blocks, which remained in place through April 28, when order was restored, though it was reported that the border was intermittently open following the clash.³⁷²

Zheti-Oguz District (Issyk Kul Province), Jalal-Abad Province – May 27-June 5, 2013

On May 27, 2013 a group of protestors (with an estimated number of several hundred to over a thousand people) in the Zheti-Oguz District blocked the road to the Kumtor gold mine near the village of Saruu and issued a list of demands, including the termination of the 2009 agreement between the Kyrgyz government and the mine's owners and operators (a Canadian company, Centerra Gold), that more investments be made in local infrastructure, and that the country's president or prime minister meet with them by 1600 on May 31. On the evening of May 30, a group of people from the protest cut off electricity to the mine at a power station near the village of Tamga. On May 31, members of Kyrgyzstan's security services (including the National Guard) and police clashed with and arrested dozens of protestors; there were injuries reported on both sides. A curfew was reported to be in effect at 2100 hours and the road to the mine reopened while the protest dispersed by June 1 after Prime Minister Jantoro Satybaldiyev met with some of the protestors.³⁷³

On the evening of May 31, a protest started in front of the provincial administration building in Jalal-Abad demanding the nationalization of the Kumtor mine and the release of three politicians (of the Ata-Jurt party) from prison. Protestors (several dozen to 200 strong) went on to seize control of the provincial administration building and appointed Meder Usenov (a local businessman) as acting governor of the Jalal-Abad Province. Sometime on June 1-2 Usenov was arrested, and on the evening of June 2 protestors gathered at the National Security Committee (GKNB) headquarters in Jalal-Abad. The GKNB confirmed that they had arrested Usenov and the protestors were demanding his release; the group then attempted, but failed, to force entry into the building. Overnight on June 2-3 an estimated 150-200 protestors blocked off the Bishkek-Osh road with debris (stones and tires) near the town of Barpy (northeast of the city of Jalal-Abad) and demanded the release of Usenov in addition to earlier demands. Throughout the day on June 3 police negotiated with protestors to reopen the road (several hundred vehicles had remained stranded on the road). On June 5 Prime Minister Satybaldiyev visited Jalal-Abad and met with a group of protestors outside the provincial administration building. The three members of the Ata-Jurt party were not released, though Usenov was released on bail, and the road and administration building were reopened during the day.³⁷⁴

Ungar-Too, Aksy District (Jalal-Abad Oblast) – September 20-October 2, 2013

On September 20, 2013 a group of 15-20 of Uzbekistan's Border Guards were inserted by helicopter on the Ungar-Too Mountain (near the town of Kerben) in the Aksy District and took control of a radio tower. Uzbekistan claimed the tower that the tower was in its territory. The governments of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan negotiated a settlement on September 30th and Uzbek forces withdrew from the mountain on October 2nd. There were no injuries reported during the incident.³⁷⁵

Karakol and Saruu (Issyk-Kul Province) – October 7-9, 2013

On October 7, 2013 a few hundred people turned up at the Issyk-Kul provincial administrative building in the city of Karakol and called for the restructuring of the agreement on ownership of the Kumtor gold mine. Protestors made one attempt to take over the building, but were blocked off by government security forces. During the protest, government envoy and former mayor of the Zheti-Oguz District, Emilbek Kaptagayev, was taken hostage; he had traveled to the protest

to discuss issues about Kumtor. Protestors demanded his resignation, placed him in a car near the administration building and surrounded it (around this time it was alleged that the crowd assaulted a high ranking police officer). They also reportedly poured gasoline on the car, threatening to light it on fire if government forces intervened. Some time in the evening protestors made a second attempt to take over the administration building and clashed with security forces. Government forces used stun grenades to disperse the protestors and at some point Kaptagayev was either released or freed during the clashes. By midnight the protestors had dispersed and some were arrested.³⁷⁶

On October 8 a group of over 100 protestors (the number increased as the day went on) blocked the Balykchy-Karakol road at the eastern edge of the village of Saruu (west of the city of Karakol) with debris (an overturned car, tree trunks and rocks) and demanded the release of protestors that were arrested the previous day in Karakol. The protestors had several dozen Molotov cocktails prepared (for defensive purposes) and they assaulted a policeman who went out to negotiate with them because they claimed he had previously lied to their group. Sometime in the afternoon protestors also blocked the road at the western edge of Saruu with a construction crane on a flatbed truck and started a fire on the eastern barricade; they also demanded that the government stop flying a helicopter (a Mi-24 transport) over the area. Later in the afternoon government officials conducted negotiations with the representatives of the protest; protestors had found out that security forces were mobilized in the town of Kyzyl-Suu (around 10km east of Saruu) and started negotiations. At around 1700 the road reopened (though it was not completely cleared as some protestors remained) after both sides reached an agreement to release 21 detainees from the protest in Karakol except for the two main organizers, though all but 10 of the detainees were actually released.³⁷⁷

Batken District (Batken Province) – July 10, 2014

On July 10 a violent incident took place between the Border Guards of Kyrgyzstan and the Border Guards of Tajikistan and Tajik civilians on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the Tamdyk border post (Batken District) and Tajikistan's Vorukh enclave. The incident started before noon when around 30 civilian residents of Vorukh got into an argument with Kyrgyz border guards over placement of a water pipe from a river in Kyrgyz territory to a village in Vorukh. The Kyrgyz border guards claimed the civilians grew hostile and threw stones at them, forcing them to fire warning shots. Tajik border guards had arrived on the scene during the argument and were fired upon by the Kyrgyz border guards. The Tajiks border guards claimed that they were protecting the civilians and that they never fired their weapons. One Tajik civilian died and several others were injured (including two Tajik border guards) from gunshot wounds, while one Kyrgyz border guard was injured. The Kyrgyz government claimed that Tajiks forces fired grenade and mortars on the Tamdyk border post later that evening. Government officials from both countries met on July 11 in the Sughd Province and Tajik officials requested the removal of the Tamdyk border post, claiming that Tajik civilians have threatened to attack the post and the Tajik government would not be held responsible. Authorities at the district and village level also met on July on the border to coordinate efforts on resolving the situation. The roads connecting Vorukh to the Sughd Province were closed for two days following the incident.³⁷⁸

Bishkek – July 16, 2015

On the evening of July 16, 2015 the “Alpha” unit of Kyrgyzstan’s National Security Committee (GKNB) conducted two simultaneous operations in Bishkek against suspected members of a terrorist organization. The Alpha unit eliminated four suspects and arrested seven in the operations that took place in the Pervomay District of Bishkek, while the other operation that took place in a town just east of the city resulted in four suspects being killed. During the operation in Pervomay, personnel from the Alpha unit surrounded a house with the suspects inside and then exchanged gunfire before assaulting the house, which also resulted in a fire that damaged several nearby houses. Four members of Alpha received wounds in the operation. The reported leader of the group, Zhanbolat Amirov, was from Kazakhstan and had escaped from a prison in May 2015 after being sentenced to three years in 2014 for various non-violent crimes (an associate of Amirov’s from Kazakhstan blew himself up on July 1 while authorities were attempting to apprehend him). Authorities found seven Kalashnikov assault rifles (different variants), a total of five pistols (Makarov and Tokarev), and a reported 500 kilos of ammonium nitrate which they claimed was going to be used by the group for bombs in the Ala-Too Square in Bishkek and at the Kant Airbase on July 17th. Authorities also claimed that the group had ties with the Islamic State.³⁷⁹ On July 20 a former member of Kyrgyzstan’s Parliament (and the political party Ak Zhol) was arrested at Manas International Airport and charged with supporting the group eliminated in the operation.³⁸⁰ On July 25 a video message was posted to You Tube from a Kyrgyz man urging citizens of Kyrgyzstan to join the Islamic State, but did not mention any of the suspects or any connections to a group in Kyrgyzstan.³⁸¹

Kok-Tash (Batken Province) – August 3-4, 2015

On August 3-4 a clash took place between residents of the towns of Kok-Tash (Kyrgyzstan) and Chorkuh (Tajikistan) on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border. The incident started on the evening of August 3 when an argument between residents of Kok-Tash and Chorkuh turned violent when both sides started throwing stones at each other. At some point during the day residents of Chorkuh blocked a road to a cemetery near Kok-Tash, while residents of Kok-Tash blocked a canal that supplied Chorkuh with water, though it could not be confirmed which happened first and there were reports that the argument stemmed from tension over Tajik construction of a pipe to supply water to Chorkuh in July 2015. On the morning of August 4 residents from both villages began arguing again, which resulted in both sides throwing stones in addition to reports of property damage, Molotov cocktails being thrown, and shots fired from a hunting rifle and a shotgun that resulted in injuries to several Kyrgyz and Tajik civilians. Local government officials were able to restore order by August 5.³⁸²

Tajikistan

Rasht District – February 2, 2008

On February 2, 2008, Oleg Zakharchenko, a colonel in Tajikistan’s Interior Ministry OMON (Special Purpose Police Unit) was killed in the town of Garm (Rasht District). Zakharchenko was officially in Garm to attend a meeting of the local department of combating organized crime (RUBOP); however, the OMON unit went to Garm to allegedly arrest the head of the department

Mirzokhuja Akhmadov (an opposition commander during the Tajik Civil War). Zakharchenko was shot and died instantly outside the department's headquarters not long after the OMON arrived; several members of the OMON unit were also injured. Both sides (the Interior Ministry and the Rasht RUBOP headquarters) each claimed that the other opened fire first. The government blamed Akhmadov for Zakharchenko's death, but later amnestied him for the incident.³⁸³

Kulob (Khatlon Province) – May 27, 2008

On the morning of May 27, 2008 members of the National Security Committee's (GKNB) "Alfa" unit and personnel from the Interior Ministry clashed with a criminal group in the city of Kulob. The security services launched an operation to apprehend Sukhrob Langariev at his home in the city; Langariev was wanted on charges of drug trafficking. Government forces reportedly cordoned off the area around Langariev's house and evacuated civilians before the operation, though later it was revealed that civilians were in the house. Langariev and several people at his house resisted and exchanged gunfire with security forces throughout the day and into the evening. A few ceasefires took place during the day and authorities tried negotiating (including attempts by the suspect's father) with Langariev to surrender; in the early afternoon Langariev's wife and children were able to leave the house. The suspects surrendered in the evening and nine people were arrested, including Langariev, his nephew Azam (son of Langari Langariev, who was killed in 1993 as a commander in the Popular Front during the Tajik Civil; there are two other notable Langariev brothers: Bakhtiyor, head of the Dushanbe Interior Ministry RUBOP, and Faizali, a major-general in the Ministry of Defense), Nurmahmad Safarov (brother-in-law of Langariev and son of Sangak Safarov, also a commander in the Popular Front and killed in 1993) among others. The government reported that Langariev had a large cache of weapons in his house and that there were three people killed in the operation, including two civilians and an officer in the GKNB, as well as three people wounded. Langariev was later sentenced to life in prison.³⁸⁴

Tavildara District – July 11, 2009

On July 11, 2009 former opposition commander and head of the Ministry for Emergency Situations (from the end of the Tajik Civil War until 2006) Mirzo Ziyoev was killed in the Surkhob Valley area of the Tavildara District. The circumstances of Ziyoev's death remain unclear.³⁸⁵ On May 15 the government of Tajikistan launched a nation-wide, counternarcotics operation called "Kunkor-2009". Kunkor (the operation is also referred to as Mak) has been conducted annually since 2008.³⁸⁶ The operation focuses on combating drug cultivation within Tajikistan and cutting off drug trafficking routes from Afghanistan.³⁸⁷ There was speculation not long after the 2009 operation started that former opposition commander Mullo Abdullo (aka Mullo Rakhimov) had returned from Afghanistan with a group of militants to the Tavildara District and that the operation was a cover for removing him and/or former opposition commanders in the Rasht and Tavildara Districts; the districts are not known for cultivating poppy or other drugs. Ziyoev stated in an interview in May 2009 that he could act as a mediator between the government and militants in the region.³⁸⁸

Around the middle of June there were reports of casualties in Ministry of Defense units that took place during clashes in the Rasht and Tavildara districts.³⁸⁹ On July 8 a checkpoint in the

Tavildara District was attacked by an unknown number of men; government security forces repelled the attack and killed three. One member of the security force was injured. The attackers were allegedly part of a criminal group led by former member of the opposition during the Tajik Civil War, Nemat Azizov.³⁹⁰ Government security forces conducted an operation near the village of Childara (Tavildara District) on July 10 and surrounded members of the group that had attacked the checkpoint. Sometime on July 10-11 Ziyoev, along with five other men, reportedly surrender to authorities. An initial report stated that he may have been involved with Azizov.³⁹¹

On July 12 it was reported that Ziyoev had been killed on the 11th by Azizov's supporters. The reported mentioned that on July 11 Ziyoev agreed to cooperate with the government after surrendering, as well as show the locations of weapons caches and negotiate the surrender of the remaining members of Azizov's group.³⁹² The government released a statement on July 12 that Ziyoev was involved in the June and July clashes with security forces. The statement also mentioned that Ziyoev surrendered on July 11 and that during the operation to seize the weapons cache and negotiate Azizov's surrender, Ziyoev was killed by members of Azizov's group. Several members of the Interior Ministry (MVD) and National Security Committee (GKNB) were injured during the attack.³⁹³ The Interior Minister claimed that security forces offered to accompany Ziyoev while traveling to the negotiations, but that he declined. Members of the GKNB traveled in vehicles (behind Ziyoev) and when they arrived, Azizov's group opened fire, killing Ziyoev. The government continued its operation against Azizov's group and on July 16 killed five militants in the Tavildara District. According to the government, the five were ethnic Chechens with Russian citizenship.³⁹⁴ On July 29 government forces killed Azizov in Tavildara, though the remnants of his group escaped.³⁹⁵

Dushanbe – August 22-23, 2010

Overnight on August 22-23, 25 men broke out of a National Security Committee (GKNB) detention facility in Dushanbe. A few men detained in the facility planned the escape in advance. At around 10pm on August 22, the planners killed one security guard and injured two others and seized their weapons and then released the other detainees. The detention facility of the GKNB is located within a Ministry of Justice prison. A few hours passed before the group of men attacked the guard post of the Ministry prison (outer facility) and killed a few more guards. The men escaped in a stolen car and other vehicles driven by accomplices. The escaped men included Abdurasul Mirzoyev (brother of jailed former general Gaffor Mirzoyev) and Azamsho and Jonibek Ziyoev (relatives of Mirzo Ziyoev, former Minister of Emergency Situations and a commander in the United Tajik Opposition in the Civil War). None of the detainees were injured during their escape. Some of the guards were reported to have received bribes to allow the detainees to escape.³⁹⁶ The GKNB and MVD immediately launched a search operation to recapture the 25 men. By November 2011, the government (including the governments of Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan) recaptured or killed all of the fugitives, though there were no reports on the exact fate of Hamidullo Yuldoshev:

The 25 Escapees

- Ibrahim Nasriddinov (aka Kori Ibrahim), captured by the MVD on September 2, 2010 in the Vakhdat District.³⁹⁷

- Abdurasul Mirzoyev, captured by the MVD on September 6, 2010 in the Faizobod District³⁹⁸
- Magomed Akhmedov, captured by the GKNB on September 10, 2010 in Dushanbe³⁹⁹
- Zaydullo Azizov, captured by the GKNB and MVD on September 10, 2010 in Dushanbe⁴⁰⁰
- Saidismon Khujayev, captured (reportedly by the GKNB) on September 12, 2010 in the Jomi District, Khatlon Province⁴⁰¹
- Talibsho Naimov, captured (reportedly by the GKNB) on September 12, 2010 in the Jomi District, Khatlon Province⁴⁰²
- Ali Aliev, captured on September 16, 2010 in the Vakhdat District⁴⁰³
- Rakhmiddin Azizov, killed by the GKNB (with support of the MVD) on September 26, 2010 in the Faizobod District; Azizov evaded capture and wounded two members of the GKNB on September 18⁴⁰⁴
- Husein Suleymanov, killed by the GKNB and MVD on September 28, 2010 in the Faizobod District⁴⁰⁵
- Bozorali valadi Egamberdi, killed by the MVD and GKNB on October 4, 2010 in the Tavildara District⁴⁰⁶
- Hikmatullo Azizov, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; Extradited to Tajikistan on December 25
- Bakhrom Orifjonov, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; Extradited to Tajikistan on December 25
- Makhmadamir valadi Kurbonali, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; reportedly remained in Afghanistan
- Mukhammadvali valadi Tozagul, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; reportedly remained in Afghanistan
- Makhmadzokir valadi Makhmadkhalim, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; reportedly remained in Afghanistan⁴⁰⁷
- Fakhriddin Kokulov, killed by the MVD in the operation to neutralize Mullo Abdullo on April 15, 2011 in the Nurobod District⁴⁰⁸
- Juma Ibragimov, killed by MVD and GKNB on May 14, 2011 in the area of the Rasht and Nurobod Districts⁴⁰⁹
- Mazkhariddin Khudoyorov, killed by the MVD on June 20, 2011 in the Rasht District⁴¹⁰
- Furkat Khalmetov, captured by the MVD on June 20, 2011 in the Rasht District⁴¹¹
- Kazbek Jabrailov, captured by the MVD on July 6, 2011 in the Jirgatol District⁴¹²
- Nizami Abiev, captured by members of the State Committee of National Security of Kyrgyzstan on July 13, 2011 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan⁴¹³
- Jonibek Ziyoev, captured by the MVD and GKNB on July 25, 2011 in the Tavildara District⁴¹⁴

- Bakhridin Hasanov, killed by the MVD and GKNB on July 25, 2011 in the Tavildara District.⁴¹⁵
- Azamsho Ziyoev, captured by the MVD on November 13, 2011 in the Panj District.⁴¹⁶
- Hamidullo Yuldoshev, exact fate unknown; reported still at large on July 26, 2011, though after the capture of Azamsho Ziyoev, it was reported that the operation to capture the 25 fugitives was complete.⁴¹⁷

Khujand – September 3, 2010

On the morning of September 3 in the city of Khujand a suicide bomber struck a police station, killing two policemen and injuring 25 people. A man drove a car through the front gate of a police station, just as another car was leaving, and then blew himself (with a passenger) up. The Interior Ministry arrested three men suspected of involvement with the bombing, which is reportedly connected to a murder that took place on August 30 in the city of Isfara and other criminal activity. A group called *Jamaat Ansarullah* later claimed responsibility for the bombing, though the group's structure and number of members are questionable.⁴¹⁸

Kamarob Gorge (Rasht District) – September 19, 2010-April 15, 2011

On September 19, in the Kamarob Gorge (Rasht District, around 185 km – 115 miles) militants ambushed a convoy of soldiers; 25 were killed (including five officers) and several injured. The convoy was part of an operation to capture some of the men (at the time of the ambush 18 men were still at large) who escaped from the GKNB detention facility in Dushanbe in August. The government blamed former commanders in the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), Abdullo Rakhimov (aka Mullo Abdullo) and Allovidin Davlatov (aka Ali Bedaki) for organizing the ambush.⁴¹⁹

The government arrested Husnuddin Davlatov, a Rasht District deputy councilman and brother of the suspect, and charged him with supplying explosives and other equipment to the militants. On September 20-21, government security forces also searched the homes of former UTO fighters in Rasht and imposed a curfew from 20:00-06:00. A rumor circulated in the media that former UTO commander Mirzokhuja Akhmadov, and several of his supporters, surrendered their weapons to authorities. Akhmadov held a position in the Interior Ministry (specifically the department to combat organized crime in the Rasht District) after the Tajik Civil War until 2008. Security forces conducted an operation on September 22 and killed several people in a strike at Akhmadov's home, while the former commander's whereabouts were unknown. A number of weapons were reportedly found in Akhmadov's home.⁴²⁰

On October 4, as government security forces continued operations in the Rasht District to apprehend the militants responsible for the ambush, four soldiers (including the commander) from the (Khatlon Province) Interior Ministry (OMON) unit, and a police officer were killed. There were several reported casualties among the militants.⁴²¹ On October 6, a National Guard helicopter crashed, killing the crew, several officers from the National Guard, and over a dozen members of a GKNB unit. Several soldiers were also reported killed by a landmine in a separate incident.⁴²² On October 12, the government of Tajikistan announced an amnesty from criminal charges for any militants in the Rasht District that volunteered to surrender their weapons. On October 14, Akhmadov and Mullo Sayriddin, as well as a few dozen of their followers, agreed to

surrender their weapons. Akhmadov also became involved in the search for Abdullo and Bedaki.⁴²³

The operation against militants in the Rasht District continued through January, with occasional reports that security forces eliminated more militants.⁴²⁴ On January 4, 2011, security forces killed several militants and reportedly captured one in a village near the town of Garm (Rasht District). The government announced that Bedaki was among those killed.⁴²⁵ A few weeks after the operation, a video of Bedaki being interrogated by security forces in the backseat of a vehicle was posted on *You Tube*. The video was removed a few times for violations, but is now available.⁴²⁶ The government also released a video of the results of the operation, where Bedaki is shown dead alongside several militants.⁴²⁷

On April 14, government security forces launched an operation near the village of Samsolik (Nurobod District). The government stated that special units, helicopters, and artillery would be conducting a live-fire exercise near the Rasht District on April 14.⁴²⁸ On April 15, security forces killed Abdullo and over a dozen militants in Samsolik. During the operation four people from various security services of Tajikistan were reportedly killed.⁴²⁹

Khorog, Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast – July 21, 2012-August 24, 2012

On the evening of July 21, 2012, General Abdullo Nazarov was killed near the city of Khorog in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO). The general was on a business trip when an unknown number of men stopped the vehicle he was traveling in and stabbed him to death. General Nazarov was the head of the National Security Committee (GKNB) of the GBAO and was part of the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) during the Tajik Civil War. Members of the GKNB were reportedly in the vehicle with Nazarov and wounded in the attack.⁴³⁰ On July 22, the government of Tajikistan accused former UTO commander (and until the incident, commander of the Ishkashim border guards detachment) Tolib Ayombekov of involvement in the murder. The government demanded that Ayombekov hand over the men responsible, which the latter refused to do. The government then launched an operation in Khorog on July 24 to apprehend Ayombekov and his men, in addition to accusing him of being involved in drug trafficking among other charges of smuggling.⁴³¹ On July 25, the government offered an amnesty to all but four men (including Ayombekov) to stop fighting and surrender their weapons. While communication with the GBAO was severed, on July 26 a video was posted to *You Tube* of the fighting.⁴³² The offer also included a two day cease-fire, although sporadic fighting reportedly continued from July 25-27. The government arrested 40 people (around five are allegedly citizens of Afghanistan) involved in the fighting and reported that its security forces suffered 17 dead and 40 wounded, while those who resisted suffered 30 dead. While the government initially reported only one civilian death, (unofficial estimates believed this number to be at least 20-30 people) the Minister of Defense expressed regret over multiple civilian casualties.⁴³³ Units from the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of the Interior, and members of the GKNB were reportedly involved in the operation in Khorog.⁴³⁴

The government eventually named the four men responsible for the murder of General Nazarov; the list included a former UTO commander, Imumnazar Imumnazarov. In 1994, Imumnazarov became paralyzed from a gunshot wound and was reported to be suffering from diabetes.⁴³⁵

After the government negotiated a cease-fire (around July 27), security forces collected a large number of weapons amid reports that some units were leaving the GBAO.⁴³⁶ On August 12, Ayombekov surrendered to authorities.⁴³⁷ While it appeared that the government would continue to withdraw its forces from Khorog (some units did leave Khorog after Ayombekov surrendered), on the night of August 21-22, a group of unidentified armed men broke into the house of Imumnazarov and killed him.⁴³⁸ A large crowd of people gathered at Imumnazarov's house, which was followed by a protest in the city square of Khorog where people demanded the withdrawal of government security forces. A few people attempted to break into the regional administration building; two people were wounded as a result. After around two days of protests, the government agreed to withdraw all forces that had participated in the operation.⁴³⁹

Khoja-Alo (Sughd Province)-Batken Province (Kyrgyzstan) – January 11, 2014

On January 11, 2014 a clash took place between the Border Guards of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan and resulted in injuries to five Kyrgyz and two Tajik border guards. Prior to the clash there had been an ongoing dispute (among other issues related to the border) over Kyrgyzstan's construction of a road from Kok-Tash – Ak-Sai – Tamdyk that would bypass Tajik territory. Tajik authorities and local residents (of Khoja-Alo) believed the construction was taking place on Tajik territory. There had also been tension between residents on both sides of the border a few weeks prior to January 11 over a case of arson and the border was closed for a few days. Additionally, negotiations to demarcate the Kyrgyz-Tajik had taken place in Dushanbe on January 7-9, including an agreement to conduct joint patrols along the disputed border areas.⁴⁴⁰

The clash started in the early afternoon of January 11 when an argument broke out between Kyrgyz and Tajik border guards over the resumption of the road construction east of Khoja-Alo; both sides claimed the other fired the first shots.⁴⁴¹ During the clash (which lasted under an hour) Tajik forces launched several mortars at Kyrgyz positions and shrapnel wounds among Kyrgyz border guards were reported. Both countries moved reinforcements (reportedly from their Ministries of Defense) to the border regions in the days following the clash, then withdrew these units by the end of January. Negotiations between local authorities and senior officers from both sides took place in the Batken and Sughd Provinces for a few days following the incident, though the border remained closed until March 31.⁴⁴²

Isfara District (Sughd Province)-Batken Province (Kyrgyzstan) – May 7-8, 2014

On the evening of May 7, 2014 a clash took place between residents along the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the villages of Zhaka Oruk and Kok-Terek (Kyrgyzstan) and Khoja-Alo (Tajikistan). The clash started in the evening of May 7 when residents from both sides claimed someone threw rocks at vehicles traveling in the border area and escalated into a few dozen local residents (from surrounding villages) throwing rocks at each other. Kyrgyz and Tajik security forces restored order after several hours on the morning of May 8, though a gas station and other property near Kok-Terek were damaged in a fire. The incident resulted in injuries to several Kyrgyz and Tajiks, including security forces; one citizen of Kyrgyzstan was injured by a self-inflicted wound from a shotgun.⁴⁴³

Ovchiqalacha (Ghafurov District, Sughd Province) – August 25, 2014

On August 25 a clash between the border guards of Kyrgyzstan and the border guards of Tajikistan and Tajik civilians took place on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the town of Ovchiqalacha. The incident started when Tajik civilians attempted to remove a bridge (with an excavator) over the Gulkandoz River; construction of the bridge had been planned for several weeks and was nearing completion. Just prior to the incident, Tajik border guards reportedly established a border post in Kyrgyzstan's territory. Kyrgyz border guards claimed that when they attempted to prevent the civilians from destroying the bridge, Tajik civilians threw stones at them, and then Tajik border guards opened fire with mortars. Tajik officials denied that their border guards opened fire. Several people from Ovchiqalacha were wounded and two were killed, including the commander of the Tajik border post. There were no reported Kyrgyz casualties.⁴⁴⁴

Turkmenistan

Ashgabat – September 10-13, 2008

A shooting between criminals and members of Turkmenistan's police and security forces took place over the course of a few days in September in the northern part of the capital Ashgabat. On September 10 two men, Khudayberdy Amandurdyev (Ajdar) and Akhmed Khodjagulyev, shot several police that tried to apprehend them and then fortified themselves in a water bottling facility. Both men were wanted by police and reportedly chose the facility as a place to surrender. Police then cordoned off the facility. Units from the Ministry of National Security (MNB) and the Interior Ministry (MVD) became involved and tried several times, unsuccessfully, to apprehend the men on September 11-12. On September 13, security forces injured Khodjagulyev, who later died, and killed Amandurdyev. There were rumors that a Russian special forces unit (from the Interior Ministry or Federal Security Service) was involved in the operation. However, this involvement was later revealed to be an advisory role. There were conflicting reports on the number of deaths and injuries; estimates ranged from 9-50 killed (including Amandurdyev and Khodjagulyev) and 7-12 wounded among the police and security services. There were no reported civilian casualties.⁴⁴⁵

Uzbekistan

Tashkent – February 16, 1999

Militants from the IMU or government opposition forces detonated several car bombs in Tashkent on February 16 and 17, 1999. The bombs exploded near a cinema, a bank, a house, and the Interior Ministry; 16 people were killed and over 100 injured. The government blamed the IMU for setting off the bombs, although there were conflicting reports of their involvement. The political opposition party *Erk* was also blamed for organizing the explosions.⁴⁴⁶

Tashkent and Surkhandarya Provinces – August 2000

Militants from the IMU infiltrated into the Tashkent and the Surkhandarya Provinces in August 2000. On August 4-5, 2000, the IMU made simultaneous incursions into the Surkhandarya Province and near the city of Akhangaran (Tashkent Province); militants fortified themselves in mountainous areas with hidden caches of weapons and clashed with government security forces. Around two weeks into the incursions, militants also infiltrated into the Bostonlyk District (Tashkent Province). The militants numbered an estimated 100-200, split into a few groups in both provinces; they were armed with assault rifles, rocket propelled grenades, heavy machine guns, and sniper rifles. Special forces units (reportedly from the National Security Committee – SNB) with support from Mi-24 attack helicopters killed the majority of the militants by August 25. A few militants possibly escaped and they all refused to surrender. The government of Uzbekistan reported that over a dozen soldiers were killed in the operations.⁴⁴⁷

Tashkent and Bukhara – March 28-April 1, 2004

A series of explosions and clashes between militants and government security forces took place from March 28 through April 1, 2004 in the cities of Bukhara and Tashkent. Around 10pm on the night of March 28 a bomb exploded in a house in Bukhara, killing nine people. The inhabitants were reportedly making improvised explosive devices. Also in the evening of March 28 in Tashkent, one policeman was killed and one wounded when they investigated a suspicious group of people. In the early morning of March 29, three militants killed two policemen and this was followed by two explosions in the Chorsu bazaar (possibly suicide bombers) and another near the Kolkadash madrasah (near the bazaar) in Tashkent. A total of 19 people (six policemen) were killed with 26 wounded. On March 30 in a suburb of Tashkent, not far from a presidential residence, militants clashed with government security forces. Militants approached a police checkpoint, set off a bomb (reportedly suicide bombers), and exchanged gunfire for several minutes before fleeing into a nearby house. A special forces unit (possibly from the Interior Ministry) then conducted an operation that killed the militants (there were an estimated six militants involved). On April 1, a suspect blew himself up in Tashkent when police tried to apprehend him; no one else was injured in the blast. Dozens of suspected militants were arrested in the days following the incidents. It was speculated that Hizb ut-Tahrir or the IMU planned and carried out the attacks.⁴⁴⁸

Tashkent – July 30, 2004

A series of suicide bombings took place outside the Israeli and American embassies as well as the Prosecutor General's office in Tashkent on July 30, 2004. The bombings took place within 10 minutes of each other and killed two Uzbek guards at the Israeli embassy and one Uzbek guard at the American embassy in addition to the bombers. Several people were injured. The bombers at the embassies did not gain access inside the embassy grounds, only at checkpoints on the perimeter, but the bomber at the Prosecutor General's office managed to get into the lobby. The bombings took place during the trials for people involved in the March-April incidents in Bukhara and Tashkent. The government of Uzbekistan blamed Hizb ut-Tahrir for the bombings, while the IMU and the IJU claimed credit.⁴⁴⁹

Andijan – May 12-13, 2005

On the night of May 12 in the city of Andijan, a group of militants (around 50-60) assaulted a prison and freed an estimated 400-500 prisoners (there were around 700 prisoners in the facility). The group used a Russian ZIL-131 truck to ram the gate open. A few prison guards were killed and several wounded during the assault. The militants involved in the assault then armed some prisoners, others refused weapons, but all prisoners were forced to march as the group tried but failed to take over an SNB building; casualties on both sides were estimated at 20-50 men. During the early morning hours the group reportedly took over a police patrol building and seized weapons and tried but failed to take over a military garrison in the city. At around four in the morning the group arrived in the main square and took over the main government administration building. They also set fire to a nearby theatre. Some of the prisoners continued to be used as human shields and several people were taken hostage when they arrived to work at the administration building. It was also reported that another group of militants joined the main group at some point, bringing the total number to around 150.

Representatives from the Interior Ministry started negotiations with the militants in the morning, while reinforcements moved into the city. Negotiations lasted most of the day, but sometime in the evening the government announced that security forces were going to retake the building. The assault began shortly afterward, supported by a BTR, and by the night of May 13, government forces (Interior Ministry) retook the square and main building. A number of the militants had possibly slipped out in small groups before the assault. Civilians were killed during the assault to retake the square; the government estimated that 170 people were killed while human rights organizations and political opposition claimed several hundred to a thousand dead. Government security forces killed around 50 militants and captured a large number. It is unknown how many escaped.

For a few months prior to the incident there were protests in the square near the government office against the imprisonment of 23 men accused of involvement in the banned religious group *Akromiya*, a supposed off-shoot group from Hizb ut-Tahrir. Protestors believed the men were successful businessmen which made them a target of individuals in the government wanting to seize their assets. The people felt that the charges of involvement in *Akromiya* were a cover to take over the businesses. Some of the charges were reduced just before the incident took place.⁴⁵⁰

Kyrgyz-Uzbek border (on the Kerben – Ala-Buka road) – March 18-26, 2016

On the morning of March 18, 2016 an estimated 40 soldiers and two armored personnel carriers (unknown BTR variant) from Uzbekistan established two checkpoints on the road from the town of Kerben to Ala-Buka; both towns are located in the territory of Kyrgyzstan, but the road crosses into Uzbekistan's territory. The Uzbek checkpoints were reportedly not in Kyrgyzstan's territory, but were in an area that has not been fully demarcated. The government of Kyrgyzstan responded by deploying two armored personnel carriers and a roughly equal number of soldiers (from the Ministry of Defense unit "Scorpion"). The government of Uzbekistan claimed it set up the checkpoints to better protect its territory during the holiday of Nowruz, but there were reports that it was a response to Uzbek citizens being denied access to work at the Orto-Tokoy Reservoir

(Kyrgyzstan). Both governments conducted negotiations for several days and on March 26, Uzbekistan withdrew its forces from the checkpoints.⁴⁵¹

Notes

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